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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON.

THE SUFFRAGE AND RECONSTRUCTION DEBATES.

From the Worcester (Mass.,) Spy.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 16th, 1869.

By the middle of the ensuing week it is expected that the appropriation bills will have been reported, partly acted upon, and in good condition for final passage. We are promised then important reports upon the measures necessary to close up reconstruction. Gov. Boutwell states that he shall call up on Saturday next, for action, the Constitutional amendment and the political rights bill, which he reported a few days since. Senator Stewart will report during the early part of the week a similar amendment from the Senate Judiciary committee.

We are to have in addition to this all important question, and probably before it is decided, the report of the Senate committee with regard to the admission of the Georgia Senators elect, which it is now understood will be adverse to their admission. Mr. Trumbull and the Democratic members only oppose this action. It is almost certain that the majority report will be adopted. If it is, then the rejection of the Senators will be supplemented by the passage of Judge Edmund's bill, on which all elements of loyalty in Georgia have united. Gov. Brown who has hitherto thought it impolitic at least to interfere, with the present situation, acquiesces in the necessity of Congressional action.

The House Judiciary committee has been considering the Maryland and Kentucky cases. It is understood that a report will be made in the case of Maryland declaring that the State has not a Republican form of government in the sense the Constitution requires.

The reconstruction committees are actively hearing testimony, and discussing measures that are necessary for Mississippi and Virginia. Just here let me call attention to the peculiar manner in which the *New York Tribune*'s Washington dispatches are doing the skirmishing for the rebel conservatives, who, under pretence of surrender, are endeavoring to take possession of the new State organization, whose reconstruction they have so long and bitterly opposed.

THE "UNIVERSAL" AMNESTY DODGE.

For about ten days past there has been a delegation of Virginians here, whose chief purpose is to get Congress to do something other than what it has passed upon and determined to do. At present the *New York Tribune*'s chief purpose is to aid them in this object. At least it would seem that their dispatches from here are either dictated in the interests of the conservatives, or written by some of them. Day after day it is stated that leading Republicans are pledging themselves to the policy of universal suffrage and universal amnesty, or at least to a rejection of the Constitution framed by the Convention which Congress itself empowered to do that work.

These dispatches are full of innendoes against the Republican leaders in Virginia as men desirous of stepping into the positions of disqualified officials whom the XIV Article of the Constitution removes from their provisional places. Suppose they are actuated by any such desire, is that any reason why *The Tribune* should lend itself to sneers at them? They being loyal are worthier than those whose treason led them to commit perjury. It is declared in the dispatches to which I have referred that Congress will strike out the test oath and other provisions of the new Constitution of Virginia, or it will allow the Alexandria instrument to be submitted with it, with a universal suffrage and amnesty clause in it. Readers of this correspondence will I think give the writer thereof reasonable credit for correctness and sagacity in diagnosing the political situation at this point. I have been unable so far to find any of the prominent Republicans who are said to be affected so much by the representations of the Virginia conservatives. Of course gentlemen have listened respectfully to the views of such men as Baldwin, Stuart, Robinson, Wise and the others, but there are none of them so unwise as to accept their views as a day's notice, as the Washington dispatches would intimate. I am careful to discuss this matter because *The Tribune* is a great power, and this Chase-Henderson-Greeley-Virginia conservative dodge of universal suffrage and amnesty, can only result, as it is intended to do by some of its prime movers, in disorganizing the reconstruction policy of Congress and disrupting the Republican party in the South. The present position of Georgia ought to be a warning against undue haste towards amnesty such as is sought. It won't hurt the active rebel office-holders or seekers to stay out of the object of their desires for a year or two; and it will most certainly destroy the Republican party in Virginia to put the conservative pleaders at the door of Congress in possession of the power they seek. These conservatives now applying have been bitter enemies of reconstruction; not all of them openly, but still to the extent of their courage and opportunity. Let them! Are we to foster our foes, or help our friends? *The Tribune* seems to say the former is the right policy.

The same criticism is being made as to the statements with regard to Mississippi. The dispatches quote only the opinions of Gen. Gillem and Judge Sharkey—both of them enemies of reconstruction. If we hold to our policy of reconstruction and push it to a final consummation, within a year we may safely remove disabilities. If we remove them now at the bidding of those who hope while acknowledging defeat to be lifted into power, we shall see Virginia and Mississippi follow the example of the Georgia rebels, and at the first opportunity the colored men will be put under the feet of those who are now eating "humble pie."

THE COLORED CONVENTION

Adjourned this afternoon after four days session. They were characterized, while some unnecessary prolixity was exhibited, with very considerable ability and very vigorous debates. The Conventio, adopted a long series of resolutions relating to subjects of interest. It demanded universal suffrage, asked that justice might be done the colored soldier, who by reason of having been a slave is debarred from receiving bounty; asked for aid in obtaining homesteads by means of the transfer of certain railroad lands in the South, and other ways; appointed a national executive committee, and directed other committees to wait upon the judiciary and military committees of Congress. The Convention has been addressed by Senators Wilson and Warner, Gov. Boutwell, Gen. Ashley, Ohio, Mr. G. W. Julian, Mr. Powell, editor of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, Col. Forney, Col. A. K. McClure, Mr. Alvord, superintendent of education in the Freedmen's Bureau, Col. R. J. Hinton, and others. It has been a great success.

OBSERVER.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

ADDRESS OF THE COLORED MEN'S BORDER STATE CONVENTION TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE undersigned, appointed a Committee by the Colored Men's Border State Convention, held in Baltimore, August 5 and 6, 1868, would, in their behalf, respectfully and in few words address you. That Convention was composed of delegates from Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, Missouri, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and was called to consider the political condition of the colored men of the Border States, and of the colored people generally. That Convention adopted an address to the colored voters of the Southern States, and passed resolutions looking to the political and educational improvement of their brethren. To us was committed the duty of addressing a few considerations to the voters of the country. We do this by addressing their Representatives. This duty we purposely deferred until after the election for President, and now confidently entreat you to "hear us for our cause."

THE FACTS.

To-day colored men are voting on equal terms with white men, in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusets, and Rhode Island, of the New England States; in Iowa and Minnesota of the Western States; and in Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas, in the Southern States. They are voters also in the District of Columbia, and in some of the Territories. New York, of the Middle States, gives a vote to each colored man who possesses $250 worth of real estate; Ohio, of the Western States, notwithstanding her "Visible Admixture Bill," allows a vote to men having fifty-one hundredths of so-called "white blood" in their veins, or —who are more than half white: and a few colored men have voted in Michigan and in Wisconsin by sufferance rather than by enactment; while in Connecticut, of the New England States; in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, of the Middle States; in Maryland, Kentucky, and West Virginia, of the Southern States; and in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, Kansas, and other States of the West, colored men, as such, are not, by law, permitted to vote at all. By the census of 1860, the colored population of the whole country is represented to be 4,441,830. They are now "200,000 more." The colored population in the States and Territories in 1860 was 3,069,540. The colored population in States where rights were withheld, was 1,362,390. So that by the just action of Congress and of individual States, three-fourths of the colored people of the nation are represented.

THE WRONG DONE.

The wrong which must be apparent to you is that all these men, the represented and the unrepresented, are citizens—citizens not only according to our reading of the Constitution as originally framed, but declared so to be, first, by the highest law officer of the government; second, by acts of Congress, and third, by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. And yet the glaring fact remains that citizens, even in States for many years free, are systematically deprived of suffrage, the first, the crowning right of citizenship.

THE WAY TO REPAIR THE WRONG.

We respectfully but earnestly ask you to make the government action consistent with itself, and invest the unrepresented—one quarter—only of the colored men of the nation—with the elective franchise, and thus forever remove this source of contention from halls of legislation.

SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES: We would not now impeach the action of Congress and the people by complaining of that portion of the XIVth Constitutional Amendment which has been construed by some to remand us to the tender mercies of individual States. As loyal men, we must submit sometimes to that which is wrong; but we respectfully protest that if, by that Amendment, colored men are made citizens not merely of the United States, but of the individual States where we reside, it is the duty of Congress to affirm the same by law, and to declare that colored men being citizens, shall vote, at least, at all the elections for National and State officers. Then, if a State demur, through its Legislature, the penalty of non-representation in the House of Representatives should apply, but not before. We ask that Congress act, and act promptly. We ask this because we knew that according to the second section of Article VI of the United States Constitution, "This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof * * * shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." But we ask Congress to do something. If nothing better give us a Constitutional Amendment to secure the right of suffrage—and give it to us now.

THE DEBT DUE.

This is due to us from our citizenship. But it is also due on account of our devotion to our common country, contributing, as we have done, to its wealth in peace, and standing for its defence in time of war. We have helped to fight the country's battles; we have stood shoulder to shoulder with white men, in every contest from 1776 to 1865. Have we not served out our probation? Have we not won the recognition of citizen rights? In the latest contest, we may say, and we say it modestly, and without any disparagement of the brave, white soldiers of the Union that colored men cheerfully filled the grave which the nation made for us, from Harrisburg to Petersburg, to Richmond, to Hatcher's Run, to Wagner, to Olustee, to Milliken's Bend, to Vicksburg to Fort Pillow; along the Tennessee, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, to the Gulf; up the Red River to Brashear city, and they helped, by dying, to give the nation resurrection and immortality. Our dead live in the life of the nation to-day. Will the nation cast off us who have been its defenders?

NO PREMIUM UPON COLOR, AND NO DENIAL BECAUSE OF IT.

We ask no premium to be put on color, and no denial because of it. *We ask simple justice.* And we ask that this justice be awarded not merely without delay, but so awarded that individual States may not, like Pennsylvania and North Carolina of old, in obedience to blind prejudice, deprive us of rights which we may be exercising "conscientiously," and with "good results to society."

RESULTS OF THE EXPERIMENT NORTH AND SOUTH.

The present Secretary of State for the United States, in a letter to one of the undersigned, years since, speaking of the colored men who vote in New York State, said: "The right of suffrage is exercised by no citizen of the State of New York more sincerely, more conscientiously, or with better results to society than by these." All admit that colored voters of the South have been more modest and moderate than was generally expected. Why not allow us the benefit of such fair results, and extend the franchise to the balance of these men who need it so much? We do not doubt your power; we pray you, exercise it.

Our brief plea is before you. We have no reproaches for the past, but believing as we do, that the business of Government is to protect the rights of even the humblest of its citizens, we ask, while Amnesty is awarded to the men who rose in arms against the Nation, that justice be awarded to us, its friends, who fought under the nation's flag, and helped maintain its honor. Very respectfully,

WM. HOWARD DAY,
H. J. BROWN,
EDWARD T. CREW.

Committee of the Colored Men's Border State Convention.

December, 1868.

THE NATIONAL COLORED CONVENTION.

THE National Convention of colored men assembled at 12 o'clock, noon on Wednesday the 13th inst, in Union League Hall, Washington D. C., and was called to order by Mr. WILLIAM NESBITT, of Pennsylvania, president of the Border State Convention, who read the call for the present Convention.

It was moved and adopted, that Hon. H. M. TURNER of Georgia, be elected temporary chairman of the Convention.

Hon. Mr. TURNER, on taking the chair, called upon Bishop CAMPBELL, of the Methodist Church, who lead in prayer, calling upon God to bless all the efforts and means, right and proper, put forth for the purpose of spreading out the great principles of love to God and of love to man, carried out in all the relations of life; asking Him to look in mercy upon them, and to carry on the good work until all evils connected with the past might be cast away. He asked the blessings of God upon the Convention, upon the men who composed it, and prayed Him to guide them in their deliberations that it might be productive of much and lasting good to their race.

Mr. TURNER said he certainly felt complimented in being called upon to preside over the Convention temporarily. He urged upon its members the necessity of acting promptly and with a spirit that would meet with the approval of all. Congress and the whole country was looking upon them and their deliberations. He hoped sincerely the Convention would be able to make the country feel their action, so that their children would be benefited hereafter.

On motion Mr. A. S. GREEN, of Pennsylvania, was elected temporary Secretary of the Convention.

Mr. GARNETT, of Pennsylvania, moved a committee, consisting of two from each State, be appointed as a committee on credentials.

An amendment was offered making the committee to consist of one from each State.

Mr. GARNETT accepted the amendment, and the motion was carried.

The question as to how the committee should be appointed caused a good deal of discussion, when, on motion a recess of ten minutes was taken, to allow the delegates to consult together.

On motion, the chair appointed Captain OLIVER, sergeant-at-arms, and Sergeant HATTON as assistant.

The Secretary then called the States, and afterward announced the following as the committee on credentials:

Massachusetts, F. G. Barbadoes; Rhode Island, Prof. George B. Vashon; New York, J. G. Spellman; New Jersey, Rev. W. T. Cato; Pennsylvania, George Woodson; Delaware, J. W. Laton; Maryland, J. H. Hill; Virginia, Lewis Lindsey; North Carolina, G. P. Rourk; Georgia, Hon. J. M. Simms; Florida, G. W. Long; Tennessee, J. C. Tate; Mississippi, T. H. Springer; Iowa, A. Clark; Kansas, C. H. Langston; Alabama, G. Ellsworth; Ohio, Henry Thomas; District of Columbia, John T. Johnson.

The Committee then retired, and the Rev. HENRY HIGHLAND GARNETT of Pennsylvania, addressed the Convention. He said he looked upon the Convention as one of the most important that had ever been called in the United States, as the destiny of the future of the colored race somewhat depended upon their conduct on the occasion. He remembered, on looking back on the struggle they had just past, that Union was the great byword, and such, he thought, should now be, and he felt sure they would be led to victory. One thing they desired was for Congress to amend the Constitution so as to allow the right of suffrage to be extended all over the United States.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS was called upon, and addressed the Convention. He said he had come to it more as a learner or listener to speeches than as a maker of them. He desired to know of his brethren of the South how they felt, and what they were going to do. A few years ago they had called to the colored men of the South, but had no response; but now thank God, he saw the faces of many of them. He felt they should be thankful, but he sometimes wondered whom they should thank. He knew what brought this thing about. It was not until this nation was crumbling into dust—until our armies were melting away, and the recruiting sergeant was calling for men young and old, and our streets were thronged with wounded men and stumps of men, and our churches and homes were draped with mourning—that liberty was proclaimed throughout this broad land.

JOHN M. LANGSTON, being called for, addressed the assemblage. He said he felt embarrassed in attempting to make a speech after Mr. Douglass, but he would have a few words to say. He was proud to see so many of his race assembled together. The speaker said he felt proud of the course that had been pursued by the colored men since their enfranchisement in the South, and could point to many holding positions of trust and honor, and administering their affairs as well as the representatives of the white race could do. The enemy of the colored man was to be found in the North. The negro in the South has his rights, can vote and hold office, but in the North it is different.

I. C. WIER next addressed the Convention at length. With regard to the question of suffrage, the speaker contended that if the right of the colored man to vote was to be disputed certainly every right he had could be disputed.

Rev J. SELLA MARTIN was called upon for a speech, but declined on account of being unwell.

Professor WILLIAM H. DAY addressed the Convention, and presented eloquently his views on the question of suffrage.

Mr. A. M. POWELL, editor of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, who was present, was called upon, and addressed the meeting. He was glad to be present, and shared in the deep feelings of gratitude which had been expressed for the progress of the cause of freedom. It was a shame to the white people of this country that there was still occasion for holding at the capitol of the Nation such a Convention of colored men, as an invidiously distranchised class. He would have the Convention memorialize Congress for the prompt passage of an impartial suffrage law and of an additional Constitutional Amendment. He also spoke of the need of land and education to make the future of the colored people of the South secure and prosperous. But the question of suffrage was paramount at the present hour. The opportunity to secure a fundamental guarantee of the rights of the colored people by Constitutional amendment, would pass away for the present with the close of the present session of Congress.

On motion of Mr. FREDERICK DOUGLASS, a vote of thanks was tendered Mr. POWELL for his eloquent address.

The committee on credentials, through their chairman, Prof. GEORGE B. VASHON, submitted a report, and proceeded to read the same, the first part of which contained some suggestions advanced by the committee, which were objected to by several members of the Convention. This caused some debate, and considerable confusion, and it was several minutes before the Chair was able to restore order.

The following is the list of delegates, as reported by the committee:

Massachusetts—F. G. Barbadoes. Delaware—G. W. Layton, David S. Gustus, William H. Day, Caleb Milburn, William T. Jones. Rhode Island—George T. Downing, A. T. Augusta. Pennsylvania—Granville S. Woodsora, (at large), William E. Welch, P. N. Judah, D. D. Turner, A. Lee, Charles B. Purvis, J. B. Murray, Aaron L. Still, (at large), Lizzieare Brown, M. Cupid, A. J. Billows, J. G. Fry, E. D. Basset, J. P. Campbell, George W. Buck, William Nesbitt, Cassius M. Brown, H. J. Rhodes, Alfred M. Green, Moses Anderson, Albanus S. Fisher, Joseph C. Bustill, Josiah C. Wears, W. D. Forten, (at large), O. L. C. Hughes, James Cornelius, Thomas H. N. Goff. New York—Frederick Douglass, J. B. Trusty, J. Stella Martin, Lewis H. Douglass, J. N. Gloucester, Rufus L. Perry, (at large), J. Speiman, (at large), Singleton T. Jones, Frederick Douglass, Jr. Washington D.C.—W. H. Barker, D. R. Parker, S. G. Brown, Thomas R. Hawkins, Rev. J. B. Trusty, 260 D street, between 2nd 3d. New Jersey—W. T. Catto, Charles H. Thompson, J. H. A. Johnson, William E. Middleton, George G. Collins, John W. Stevenson, Wm. Y. Wilson. Virginia—R. Forrester, M. Morton, C. B. Stevens, R. D. Beckley. West Virginia—Adam Howard. Maryland—A. L. Stanford, John C. Foster, H. J. Brown, J. H. C. Pindar, George A. Hackett, A. J. Kelley, A. W. Wayman, E. T. Crue, C. O. Gallamison, L. G. Griffin, R. M. Piper, J. R. V. Thomas, James Jackson, John Johnson, D. R. Hudson, William H. Black, Joseph Thomas, J. T. Jackson, J. W. France, J. J. Herbert, Georgia—H. M. Turner. Florida—G. W. Long. Alabama—Hales Ellsworth. Louisiana—J. C. Tate, Daniel Wadkins, J. M. Murphy. Ohio—Henry Thomas, T. M. Langston, D. L. Watson, T. M. Gregory, J. H. Cook, O. S. B. Wall. Illinois—R. De Baptist, H. D. King. Kansas—Charles H. Langston. Hon. James M. Simms, Savannah, Ga.; Joseph M. Mitchell, (colored) Clayton, Ala.; J. H. Brown, 92 Dallas street, Baltimore, Md.; S. T. Jones, 13, 19th street Washington, D. C.; Thos. W. Stringer, Vicksburg, Miss.; Rev. J. Morris Williams, Box, 135 Trenton, N. J.; W. H. Gibson, 14th street, cor. Lexington, Louisville, Ky.; James H. Romelius, Gap P. O., Lancaster Co., Pa.; Geo. W. Hatton, 31 Madison Alley, Washington, D. C.; J. P. Rourk, Wm. McLaurie, Wm. G. Cutter, G. L. Watson, Wilmington, N. C.; John T. Waugh, Providence, R. I.; Austin Syphax, Arlington, Va.; Daniel Wadkins, Nashville, Tenn.; L. F. Mellen, Cleveland, Ohio; John C. Kepper, Montgomery, Ala.; Lawrence S. Berry, Mobile, Ala.; Rev. Wilbur G. Strong, Mobile, Ala.; John Carraway, Mobile, Ala.; James W. Brown, 905 Lombard street, Philadelphia, Penn.; Riley White, Box 660, Lockport, N. Y.; Samuel Van Brackle, 212 Acorn Alley, Philadelphia, Pa.; W. E. Matthews, 24 Pierce street, Baltimore, M. D.; John Everett, Lynchburg, Va.; S. F. Kelso, Lynchburg, Va.; Col. Daniel Young, 179 South Sharp street, Baltimore, Md.; A. Ward Handy, 38 North Frederick street, Baltimore, Md.; R. B. Sorrell, 15 State street, Baltimore, Md.; J. H. Douglass, 78 Centre street, Baltimore, Md.; Walter Sorrell, 138 Lee street, Baltimore, Md.; Mc Cartney Sorrell, 312 Howard street, Baltimore, Md.; H. Braddox, 36 Clay street, Baltimore, Md.; O. S. B. Wall, Washington City, D. C.; F. Douglass jr., care C. R. Douglass, Freedman's Bureau, Washington, D. C.; Robert E. Probeck, Frederick City, Maryland; John T. Johnson, Washington, D. C.; Henry Johnson, Washington, D. C.; Charles Peters, corner Sixteenth and K streets, Washington D. C.; Colin Cruso, Georgetown, D. C.; Adolphus Hall, Georgetown, D. C.; George F. Coakley, Charles R. Douglass, Freedmen's Bureau, Washington, D. C.; A. R. Green, Washington, D. C.; Carter Stewart, Washington, D. C.; Prof. George B. Vashon, Solicitor, Freedmen's Bureau, Washington, D.C.; John M. Langston, Freedmen's Bureau, Washington, D. C.; Lewis H. Douglass, Freedmen's Bureau, Washington, D. C.; W. H. Garnet, Allegheny City, Penn.; B. K. Sampson, Allegheny City, Penn.; Harriet Johnson, Allegheny City, Penn.; H.C. Molson, Norwich, Chenango County, N. Y.; Thomas Bostow, Freedmen's Bank, Washington, D. C.; Alexander Clark, Muscatine, Iowa, Isaac Myers, No. 1 Philpot street, Baltimore, Maryland; Joseph Brooks, Washington, D. C.; James Tally, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Duke W. Anderson, Washington, D. C.; Anthony Bowen, Washington, D. C.; George Batter, Washington, D. C.; Isaac Shiver, Washington, D. C.; James Green, Washington, D. C.; D. R. Parker, Washington, D. C.; Abraham Dysson, Washington, D. C.; Lewis Lindsey, Richmond, Va.; Edward Nelson, Richmond, Va.; Fields Cook, Richmond, Va.; Henry Thomas, Howard University, Washington, D. C.; Rev. R. Bostow, Lancaster, Penn.; J. C. Tate, Clinton, Tenn.; F. G. Barradoes, 167 K street, Washington, D. C.; Chas. H. Peters, 451 M. street between 12th and 13th Washington, D. C.; Samuel Molson, Box 23 Lewiston, Mifflin Co. Penn.; George Molson, Lewiston, Mifflin Co. Penn.; Rev. W. H. Hunter, Pittsburg, Penn.; Hon. J. T. Costin, Atlanta, Ga.; Capt. J. D. Oliver, 49 Diamond street, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. Dr. A. R. Green, Washington, D. C.; Wm. Whipper, 319 Lombard street, Philadelphia, Pa.; B. F. Grant, Contreville, Fairfax Co., Va.; John F. Cook, 384 16th street, Washington, D. C.

Mr. W. H. HUNTER, of Pennsylvania, moved to strike out the recommendations of the committee, and to adopt the report. Carried.

Mr. JOHN F. COOK, of the District of Columbia, moved that all duly accredited delegates be entitled to the full privileges of members of the Convention.

A motion that a committee of one from each delegation be appointed on permanent organization was carried.

It was moved and seconded that when the Convention adjourn it adjourn to meet at Israel church in the evening, at 7 1-2 o'clock. Carried.

The Committee on Permanent Organization was then announced, as follows:

Maryland, H. J. Brown; Virginia, C. B. Stevens; Massachusetts, F. G. Barbadoes; Rhode Island, J. T. Waugh; New York, J. Stella Martin; New Jersey, William E. Middleton; Pennsylvania, M. Anderson; Delaware, J. W. Leighton; North Carolina, G. P. Rourke; Georgia, J. M. Simms; Florida, J. W. Long; Alabama, J. H. Alston; Tennessee, J. C. Tate; Ohio, O. S. B. Wall; Mississippi, F. W. Stringer; Kansas, C. M. Langston, District of Columbia, J. F. Cook; West Virginia, A. Howard; Illinois, R. D. De Baptist; Kentucky, —Gibson:

The Convention then, at 5 p. m., took a recess, to meet at Israel church at 7:30

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention reassembled at 7:30 p. m., in the Israel church, Mr. TURNER in the chair. The church was pretty well filled, there being a large number of ladies and gentlemen present as spectators.

After prayer by Bishop JONES, the minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The following dispatch, which had been received by the Chair, was then read by the secretary:

MONTGOMERY, ALA., January 13th.

To the President of the Colored National Convention:

The following Alabama delegates will arrive on the 15th: John Carraway, Wilbur G. Strong, and L. S. Berry. JOHN CARRAWAY.

On motion, the name of Mr. GASKIN, of Rhode Island, was entered on the roll of delegates.

Mr. DOWNING made a motion that gentlemen present from States not represented be admitted as delegates from such States.

The motion occasioned considerable debate, several members opposing the motion, which finally prevailed.

Mr. C. WEIR of Pennsylvania, endorsed the motion, arguing that they had assembled to represent the interests of the colored people, and he thought the Convention had the power to admit any one they chose as a delegate.

Professor VASHON, chairman of the committee on credentials, reported favorably on the following: John C. Bowers, of Pennsylvania; Samuel F. Kelso and John Evart, of Virginia, and W. T. Jones, of Delaware.

Governor B. B. EGGLESTON of Mississippi, was called upon for an address, but declined.

On motion of Rev. Mr. GARNETT, of Pennsylvania, Col. R. J. HINTON and AARON M. POWELL, editor of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, were admitted as honorary members of the Convention.

On motion, Gov. EGGLESTON was admitted to a seat within the Convention. Hon. JOHN R. FRENCH, of North Carolina was elected as an honorary member of the Convention.

While in waiting for the report of the committee on permanent organization, Mr. Myers, of Maryland, addressed the Convention, giving a very interesting account of the Baltimore Ship Builder's Association, composed of colored men and doing a successful business to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars per annum. When he had concluded, the chairman of the committee submitted a report of nominations for officers of the Convention, as follows:

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, of New York, president.

Vice Presidents—A. M. Green, Pa.; W. T. Jones, Del.; J. J. Spelman, N. Y.; E. D. Bassett, Pa.;——Barbadoes, Mass.; W. T. Waugh, R. I.; J. Stella Martin, N. Y.; O. S. O. Wall, Ohio; H. H. Garnett, Pa.; W. Sorrel, Md.; W. H. Gibson, Ky.; R. D. Baptist, Ill.; Alexander Clark, Iowa; A. Howard, West Va; T. W. Skinner, Miss.; T. W. Long, Fla.; George Malson, N. C.; Fields Cook, Va.; J. C. Tate, Tenn.; W. H. Day, Del.; William E. Middleton, N. J.; Charles Langston, Kansas; James Simms, Ga.; John F. Cook, D. C.

Secretaries—E. D. Bassett, J. J. Spelman, W. T. Jones, and A. M. Green.

On motion, the report was received and adopted unanimously.

Mr. DOUGLASS was conducted to the chair amid hearty applause. He thanked the Convention for the honor they had conferred upon him, and invoked the assistance of his hearers in maintaining order and dignity in the execution of business. He would omit to make a speech, as might be looked for, but would proceed at once with the business of the Convention.

On motion, a committee of nine was ordered to be appointed as a financial committee.

Another motion to appoint a committee of five on rules was carried.

The Convention then, at 10:10, after singing the Doxology, adjourned to meet again at the same place at ten o'clock this morning.

SECOND DAY.—The Convention reassembled at 10 A. M., yesterday, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, president, in the chair.

After prayer by Rev. Henry H. GARNETT, of Philadelphia, on motion, a committee of two, consisting of Messrs. George T. Downing and G. A. Hackett, were appointed to procure suitable accommodations for the secretaries.

Mr. GEORGE L. MABSON, of North Carolina, proffered his resignation as one of the vice-presidents of the Convention. Accepted.

Mr. MABSON then offered the name of Mr. WILLIAM T. CUTTER, of North Carolina, as one of the vice-presidents of the Convention. Agreed to, and he was declared elected.

Rev. Mr. GARNETT gave notice that he would offer a resolution before the adjournment of the Convention providing for the holding of a Convention annually until the suffrage question was settled.

The Chair announced the following committees:

Business Committee. — George T. Downing, Rhode Island; F. G. Barbaboes, Massachusetts; William H. Day, Delaware; H. H. Garnett, Isaiah Weir, O. L. C. Hughes, Pennsylvania; George A. Hackett and W. E. Mathews, Maryland; J. S. Martin and H. C. Moulson, New York; W. M. Lowrie, North Carolina; W. H. Gibson, Kentucky; R. De Baptist, Illinois; Alexander Clark, Iowa; Adam Howard, West Virginia; James M. Simms, Georgia; Charles Peters, District of Columbia; I. W. Stringer, Mississippi; D. Wadkins, Tennessee; F. Cook, Virginia; Charles H. Langston, Kansas; H. Ellsworth, Alabama; E. D. Bassett, Pennsylvania; Professor George B. Vashon, Rhode Island; Rev. William T. Cato, New Jersey.

On Rules.—W. H. Day, Delaware; Lewis H. Douglass, New York; George B. Vashon, Rhode Island; William D. Foster, New York; Charles H. Thompson, New Jersey.

On Finance.—W. J. Wilson, New Jersey; Charles B. Purvis, Pennsylvania; —— Gaskin, William Whipper, and Rev. R. L. Perry.

Professor VASHON, chairman of the committee on credentials, reported favorably on the following: S. A. Neale, B. F. Pulpress, Rev. J. W. Devine, Rev. Abram Cole, Miss Harriet Johnson, and William Peterson, of Pennsylvania.

The question as to the right of women to sit as delegates here arose, and caused considerable discussion. Mr. GEORGE L. MABSON, of North Carolina, argued that the call of the Convention was for the assembling of colored men, and he questioned the right of women to sit as delegates. He therefore moved to strike off the name of Miss Harriet Johnson as delegate. The motion occasioned some confusion.

J. W. Brown, of Pennsylvania, advocated the admission of the lady delegate, and appealed to the Convention not to oppose her admission. Remarks were made by others on the question, when Hon. J. M. SIMMS, rose to a point of order, and read from the minutes of the previous meeting a resolution offered by Mr. Cook, of the District of Columbia, and adopted, "that all duly-accredited delegates be entitled to the full privileges of members of the Convention."

The Chair ruled that the resolution did not settle the point.

Rev. J. STELLA MARTIN, of New York, hoped the Convention would throw all prejudices aside and admit the lady as a delegate to the Convention. They were not tied down to any conventionalities—they had no right to exclude any delegate, as it was a convention of men, and the term "men" in the Bible meant men and women. He did not approve of the ruling of the Chair on that point, thinking that the resolution had settled the question.

Further remarks in favor of the admission of Miss Johnson were made by Messrs. Van Brackel and Weir, of Philadelphia, and others, when the motion of Mr. Mabson to "strike off the name" was lost, and the report was adopted.

Mr. J. B. MURRAY, of Pennsylvania, here submitted the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas the association known as the National Equal Rights League has ceased to be an active institution; and whereas we believe that a society of that kind is much needed to forward the great cause of the enfranchisement of our American citizens; and as the above-named institution has been the means of moulding and bringing about a political reform in public sentiment; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the representatives of the colored citizens of America, in convention assembled, do hereby organize ourselves into an institution to be known under the style and title of the National Equal Rights League of North America.

The resolution was referred to a committee of one from each State.

Mr. SPELMAN, of New York, presented the credentials of WILLIAM RICH, of New York, who was received as a member.

Mr. DAY, of Delaware, presented the credentials of E. V. CLARKE, of Delaware, who was also admitted.

On motion of Dr. PURVIS, of Pennsylvania, EDWARD M. DAVIS, of Pennsylvania, was elected an honorary member of the Convention.

A resolution of thanks was tendered the temporary officers of the Convention who presided during its organization.

Mr. J. C. Bowers, of Pennsylvania, submitted the following:

Resolved, That George T. Downing, John F. Cook, George B. Vashon, and Carter A. Stewart be appointed as a committee to act as representatives of the views of this Convention during the remaining portion of the session of the Fortieth Congress, urging such matters upon its members as they may deem proper favoring the expressed wish of this Convention.

Referred to the Committee on New Business.

John H. Keffer, of Alabama, was, on motion, admitted as a member of the Convention.

Mr. AARON M. POWELL, editor of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, was then called upon and addressed the Convention, urging upon them the importance of constant vigilance, not only to secure and maintain impartial freedom, but to improve to the uttermost its priceless opportunities. The future would be bright and prosperous if education, industrious thrift, and temperance were made the basis of the lives of the hitherto enslaved. The Convention was but one agent, and they must work at home and abroad and awaken and enlighten the public sentiment, agitate their cause continuously and earnestly, and he was confident they would in the end win complete triumph.

The President of the Convention presented a letter which had been received from Rev. D. H. Payne, of Ohio; which was read by the secretary and referred to the business committee.

Mr. GEORGE T. DOWNING, as chairman of the business committee, submitted, the following resolutions:

Resolved, That while, to a large and powerful party in the United States, the effective efforts now being made through the instrumentalities of the Freedmen's Bureau, and also through the various voluntary organizations of the country, local and national, to educate, improve, protect, and elevate our recently emancipated people, seem only the expression of a morbid sensibility worthy of ridicule, contempt and denunciation, we recognize in these beneficient efforts a feeble but honest acknowledgment of a great debt justly due and of long standing, contracted by centuries of measureless wrongs and of enforced ignorance, for which, unhappily, no adequate atonement can be made though the whole South were now covered with school-houses and supplied with teachers by a tax levied upon the property of the whole nation.

Resolved, That in the same spirit in which we have received our freedom we accept all these educational efforts in our behalf, not as a boon to be received with special humility, but as a sacred right which we may earnestly claim, and which cannot be innocently withheld, and yet with sincere gratitude that the moral sense of the nation has been so largely awakened to this high duty, and has prompted them to so much effective exertion in this important direction during the last four years.

Resolved, That, whether by Congressional enactment, or by amendment of the Constitution of the United States, (the form and manner may be safely left to the judgment of Congress), the one great object to be accomplished in the present national juncture is to secure some final measure of equal and universal suffrage, without any discrimination on the ground of race, color, previous condition, or of religious belief.

Resolved, That the concession of our rights in a legal form is comparatively valueless, and often a mockery, unless supported by the whole judicial and military power of the country.

Resolved, That every voter, of whatever color, should step to the ballot-box with confidence of having his way cleared thereto, if need be, by the broad-sword of the nation.

Resolved, That while acknowledging the justice and wisdom of our fellow-countrymen in this respect, we would express our sincere and heartfelt gratitude to our trans-Atlantic friends, and especially to those in England who have largely contributed to the funds of the various associations in this country for the education of freedmen.

The report of the committee was received and referred for further consideration.

On motion of D. D. TURNER, of Pennsylvania, Hon. JOHN W. FORNEY was elected an honorary member of the Convention, and he was invited to take a seat on the floor of the Convention. Col. ALEXANDER MCCLURE and Col. MILLIGAN, Hon. WILLIAM M. TULLOCK, GILES B. STEBBINS, and a number of others were elected as honorary members of the Convention.

Mr. SPELMAN of New York, offered the following:

Resolved, That a national committee, consisting of one from each State, the District of Columbia, and the Territories represented here, be appointed (with power to hereafter fill up the committee with a delegate from each State not now represented here), whose duties it shall be to take general charge of the political interests of the colored people, in the same way and for the duties that political parties usually charge their committees with; and this committee shall have power to appoint an executive committee of nine members, who shall

have power to appoint State committees charged with the same general duties in their respective States.

Referred to the Business Committee.

Col. FORNEY was then called upon for a speech, and came forward amid hearty applause. He said:

MY FELLOW CITIZENS.—My thanks are due to your distinguished president, (Mr. Douglass), and to yourselves, for this warm greeting, which, though most unexpected on my part, is, I feel, wholly sincere on yours. I need not tell you I did not come here to make a speech, I came simply to behold a spectacle as interesting and as suggestive as any in the world's experience, and to wish God speed to a movement so full of importance to all human destinies. Whatever else is unsettled, my friends, impartial suffrage is settled. What is our daily experience? Why simply that your late most inveterate enemies are here persistently pressing for the restoration of their so-called rights on the condition of recognizing yours—theirs having been deliberately lost in rebellion, as, yours were inherited as part of your birthright, which, given by God, cannot be taken from you by man. There is, indeed, an exception to this rule. While the late slave masters are ready to accept impartial suffrage as part of the situation, the Northern Democrats say No to every attempt to extend suffrage to all the States of the Union; and this answers the base accusation that while the Republicans have secured impartial suffrage in the South they have not dared to apply it North. Why, my friends, you know if the Republicans could have settled this thing in the North, as a Republican Congress did in the South, there would not be a disfranchised citizen in the Republic. But the whole Northern Democracy, reinforced by a small per centage of bolting Republicans, have been strong enough to defeat the good work. Let the present Congress close the gap by a comprehensive amendment, so as to make suffrage wholly impartial, and the Northern Democracy will be stopped forever.

Colonel MCCLURE said he had called simply to see the body of representative men of the freedmen of the United States, but need hardly say that there was no measure of justice, no right, he claimed for himself that he would not as earnestly maintain for all God's creatures. He thought justice demanded, in view of the past, that all the citizens in the land should participate in the question of suffrage. It would stand while freedom stands. The nation must advance, and the suffrage of the South must not be stricken down before the triumph of despotism. It calls upon every man to proclaim here and elsewhere that this great revolution, made everywhere in the interest of mankind, must advance until there shall be no citizen of this Republic disfranchised.

The speaker resumed his seat amid hearty applause.

The Chair then announced a committee of one from each State to consider the resolutions relative to the organization of a league; after which Mr. Madison, of North Carolina, moved that the Convention proceed to the consideration of the resolutions reported by the business committee. A motion to refer until the evening session was agreed to.

Mr. J. F. Cook, of the District of Columbia, submitted the following:

Whereas, by means of the war of the rebellion nearly four millions of men have become free citizens of the United States; and whereas, they have demonstrated their capability of acquiring the requisite knowledge, and proved their bravery as well as loyalty to the United States on every field of battle; and whereas, by the addition of six regiments of colored troops to the permanent military organization of the United States, the Government has recognized them as subject to future calls for the common defence, but in a subordinate capacity; and whereas there is no public military institution where they may be especially educated for their important service, and qualified for the promotion to which their past and present services entitle them; therefore,

Resolved, That this Convention hereby respectfully and earnestly petition the present Congress to transfer the property of the United States known as the Arlington estate, and now in charge of the Department of War, to suitable corporators, (one from each of the United States and one from the District of Columbia, yet to be named) for the purpose of locating thereon a self-supporting military institute with competent educators.

Referred to the Business Committee.

Mr. J. M. LANGSTON moved to make General O. O. HOWARD an honorary member of the Convention. He referred in eulogistic terms to the course that had been pursued by that officer in the past, and he knew his heart was with the Convention. He was elected unanimously.

EDWARD M. DAVIS of Philadelphia then briefly addressed the Convention, expressing his pleasure at meeting so large and intelligent a body of colored citizens, especially from the South. He related some very interesting anti-slavery reminiscences, referred to the importance of a correct public opinion, commended to the favorable attention THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, and urged the early passage by Congress of a Political Rights Bill and a Constitutional Amendment. The Convention then adjourned until 7.30 p. m.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention reassembled at 7:30 p. m., Mr. DOUGLASS in the chair, and was opened with prayer by Rev. Mr. GREEN, of the District of Columbia.

The following despatch was then read:

PITTSBURG, Pa., January 14th.

To Frederick Douglass, President, Suffrage Convention:

Suffrage, loyal and impartial; national rights regulated by national laws.

P. H. MURRAY,
J. P. SAMPSON,
Committee D. M. Association, Birmingham.

On motion of Rev. H. H. GARNETT, of Pennsylvania, Gov. MORRILL, of Iowa, who was present, was elected as an honorary member of the Convention. A motion to admit Mr. J. J. ROBERTS, President of Liberia, as an honorary member of the Convention occasioned much opposition.

During the discussion of this question Senator WILSON entered the hall and took a seat amid much applause.

The motion to make Mr. ROBERTS an honorary member was voted down.

Rev. D. W. ANDERSON, of the District of Columbia, submitted the following:

Memorial for Equal Privileges in the District of Columbia.

Whereas the charter of this city guarantees to all the loyal citizens thereof equal rights before the law; and whereas it is evident that many colored persons are confined in jail for long months, away from their families, with greater suffering and disgrace; that these persons upon examination before the court are often proven guilty of no crime only that of having a dark skin; therefore we, the colored people of these United States, in convention assembled do petition the incoming President to nominate two or more justices of the peace, in and for the District of Columbia, of colored men. We also petition that the colored people have the right of trial before a jury of their own color, and not before men who yet believe "that black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect."

The memorial was referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. Downing, chairman of the Committee on Business, then presented a report, with suggestions and resolutions:

The Committee recommended that a committee of seven be appointed to ask for and have an interview with and hearing before the Judiciary Committee of Congress.

That the Convention appoint a national executive committee, to be composed of one member from each State and Territory, and from the District of Columbia; the headquarters of the committee to be in Washington, D. C.; the regular meetings of the committee to be held once, at least, each month; five members of the board to constitute a quorum, and any member may be represented by proxy.

Resolved, In view of the apparent errors of opinion, and of figures in the census report of 1860, in relation to the colored people of the nation, that a memorial in the name of the National Convention be presented to the appointing power, asking them to appoint for the census report of 1870, a census commissioner who has no prejudicial opinions to ventilate, and no prejudices against the colored people to gratify.

Resolved, That it is with special satisfaction as colored men, and with a general satisfaction as Americans, that we notice the favorable reception of the proposition to alter the Constitution on the subject of franchise, not only by both branches of Congress, by a large proportion of the press of the land, but by the people thereof; and that we believe that in U. S. Grant and Schuyler Colfax, who, we are confident, represent the progressive spirit so happily ripe in the land, we have two honest personages who will exercise their utmost influence, so far as they may consistently, to place all American citizens, without regard to their complexion, on an equal political basis.

Resolved, That the original Abolitionists, those who were not ashamed or afraid to declare uncompromisingly, when they endangered their lives to do so, for the immediate abolition of slavery and that the colored man should enjoy all the political, educational, and religious rights that any other class of citizens might claim, have a large and abiding share of our gratitude for their heroic, self-sacrificing advocacy and defence of the right, out of which has grown the present advanced public sentiment.

Resolved, That whatever short-comings may be laid to the Republican party, it is the party through which the rights legally secured to the colored American in his country were secured; that it has our gratitude, and shall receive our support; that no other party need hope to alienate us therefrom unless by outstripping it in consistency and in an honest advocacy of genuine democratic principles.

Resolved, That a central executive committee, composed of seven persons, with its headquarters at Washington, be appointed to urge the necessity of lending their immediate influence to secure homes for the homeless of the South, and that said committee be empowered to add to its numbers and act with any organization that shall desire the furtherance of the end contemplated; which committee be furthermore empowered to urge before Congress the expressed wishes of this Convention.

Resolved, That we urge upon the Senate of the United States the passage of the bill before it from the House opening up to homestead settlers certain lands in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida granted for railroad purposes in 1856, but which were forfeited by failure to comply with the condition of the grant.

Whereas, the 1st day of January, 1863, has been made memorable by the issuing of the Proclamation of Emancipation by Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States; and whereas by that act of justice the shackles of slavery were broken off of millions of our race in these United States; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the colored people, in national convention assembled, do recommend that that day be observed by our people throughout this land as a proper time to celebrate the practical carrying out of the great principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence.

Resolved, That we further recommend that on that day religious services be held to give especial thanks to Almighty God for His interposition in bringing about our emancipation and enfranchisement, and the day be celebrated as may be deemed proper.

Whereas we believe that the pulpit is a mighty power in controlling minds on the question of reform; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that it is the duty of every minister of the Gospel to urge from the pulpit the reform now going forward in favor of universal liberty and equal rights to all men.

Resolved, That while we must cheerfully acknowledge our gratitude to all who have labored and voted for the removal of the unjust disabilities against our people in regard to voting, we are under special obligations to the Radical press and people of the distinguished State of Iowa, and also of Minnesota, for their able advocacy of impartial suffrage and their late great victory at the polls.

Resolved, That we congratulate the nation on the success of the reconstruction policy of Congress in the restoration of so many of the States lately in rebellion to their normal relation with the Federal Union, despite the determined and desperate opposition of Southern rebels and their Northern sympathizers; and we earnestly appeal to Congress to complete the work so auspiciously inaugurated by establishing governments in those States yet unreconstructed, at the very earliest time possible, in consonace with the wishes of the loyal citizens of said States, and in the hands of men loyal to the government of the United States, who will administer the laws on the broad principles of justice and equality to all.

Resolved, That the liberties of the citizens of this country can never be safe or uniform while the States are acknowledged to be the only power to regulate the suffrage.

Whereas by the laws of the District of Columbia all persons, without regard to caste or color, are required to aid in bearing the burdens of the government, all should be admitted to a full enjoyment of its blessings; and whereas, under the existing laws of the said District, our people are excluded from the jury-box; therefore, be it

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the Chair to memorialize Congress in this matter, with a view of securing the rights of our race in this respect and every other.

Resolved, That it is proper and opportune that we should now reaffirm the sentiments of our fathers with reference to the African colonization, as expressed by them in 1816, and give such other testimony against it as is justified by its history to the present hour.

Resolved, That while we desire, indeed would aid in, the success of our cause, to the extent of our opportunities, any enterprise having for its object the improvement of mankind in any part of the world, we nevertheless here enter our stern protest against the action of any class of men who would compromise our popular statute by asserting that our duty to Africa is more binding upon us than upon other citizens of our country.

Resolved, That the liberties of the citizens of this country can never be safe or uniform while the States are acknowledged to be the only power to regulate the suffrage.

Resolved, That we join with all of the good in the land in scattering green wreaths around the memory of the late great Commoner, Thaddeus Stevens; that it was our first impulse to manifest our appreciation and gratitude as colored men for the conspicuous part which this good man took in securing unto us our rights; but a more mature consideration tells us that we shall do his great heart more justice and help to perpetuate his enduring memory more fixedly by expressing, with a full sense of gratitude as Americans, our belief that what he did was for his country in the cause of justice, because he believed it right and acceptable to Almighty God.

The chairman of the finance committee made a motion that, to meet the expenses of the Convention, each member be taxed two dollars, and that at each session a collection be taken for the same purpose. Adopted.

Senator WILSON was introduced and addressed the Convention briefly, giving his hearers words of cheer and assuring them that their day was coming. He had no doubt that ere the fourth of March an amendment would be added to the Constitution of the United States making all men equal before the law, and allowed to enjoy all the privileges of an American citizen.

Senator WARNER, of Alabama, followed in an earnest address, assuring the Convention that he was with them and would do all he could to promote their cause.

Prof. VASHON, of New York, offered the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on New Business:

Resolved, That we denounce the proposition now pending in Congress to abolish the elective government in the District of Columbia as a base plot, designed to defraud the eight thousand freedmen therein of the elective franchise, and cheat them of their new-born freedom.

The Chair here announced the following as the committee to wait upon the Judiciary Committee: Isaiah Weir, J. C. Bowers, G. A. Hatton, N. Cubit, William Whipple, G. T. Downing, and W. H. Day.

Judge KELLEY, of Pennsylvania, addressed the meeting.

When he had concluded, Mr. Downing moved the adoption of the resolutions as reported from the Business Committee.

The previous question was called for, and they were adopted.

Adjourned till 10 o'clock a.m.

We have not space at command to give a connected, detailed account of the subsequent sessions of the Convention. The subject of education was discussed at length but no definite action taken upon it.

The following was presented, but no action was taken:

Whereas, the removal of the Freedmen's Bureau from the Southern States and especially from the States of Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, leaves the colored people in those States wholly at the mercy of their enemies, homeless, landless, uneducated, and without clothes, *by reason of their not being paid for their labor* since they were made free by the Government; therefore, be it

Resolved, That a petition be presented to the Congress of the United States by this Convention that they make some provision for the starving colored people in those States.

SAMUEL F. KELSO, Virginia,
R. D. BECKLEY, Virginia,
FIELDS COOK,
THOMAS W. STRINGER, Mississippi.

Mr. H. C. POULSON, of New York, submitted the following:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The present condition of our country tells us plainly that the above words are far from being made effective. A large majority of the citizens of the United States are denied those rights which were given them by their Creator. They are taxed without being represented; they are subject to trials by juries which are not their peers; they are murdered without having redress, and are taxed to support common schools, while their children are denied the privilege of attending those in their respective wards; they are called upon for the military service of their country without receiving proper protection of the country, and without any incentives whatever for being commissioned officers. These greivances belie the Declaration of Independence by which the American people profess to be governed. We have been laboring for the last two and a half centuries to enrich the country, without having received a particle of remuneration. We have been promised our rights, but have not received them, and we do not now counsel any other means than thoughts, words, and the integrity of the Republican party.

We demand all the rights and prerogatives enjoyed by our white fellow citizens. We have lived two and a half centuries, and know only this country as our home.

Here we have a few cherished memories and many sad ones; yet our country is dear to us with all her faults.

We demand these as natives of this country. We demand them from our long, unrequited toil. We demand them from our part in the recent rebellion, without which millions more of dollars and thousands more of precious lives would have been expended. We demand them for the safety of the Republican party, with which we shall ally ourselves so long as it continues to battle for righteousness and justice. We demand them as men, children of a common Father.

Whereas, the true basis of a Democratic Republican government is equal and impartial suffrage; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we demand equality of suffrage and all political franchises in the United States; and that a petition be prepared and presented to the Congress of the United States, demanding a Constitutional Amendment securing the right to vote without distinction of race or color.

Resolved, That the delegates of this Convention be requested to sign the said proposed petition.

On motion, the rules were suspended and the resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Hon. GEORGE W. JULIAN, of Indiana, was called upon and addressed the Convention. He spoke of the importance of homesteads for the colored people of the South. They need land to make the ballot available for their own protection. He would have the Convention urge Congress to appropriate to actual settlers at low rates the large tracts of land formerly granted for railroad purposes but which had again come into the possession of the government. Calls were made for Mr. TRIMBLE, of Tennessee, who thanked the Convention but declined speaking.

Hon. JOHN C. UNDERWOOD adressed the Convention briefly.

Governor BOUTWELL addressed the Convention; afterwards Hon. Mr. ASHLEY, of Ohio, and J. W. ALVORD, superintendent of freedmen's schools.

The committee to wait on the Judiciary Committee, of the House of Representatives through the chairman, Mr. ISAIAH C. WEIR, of Pennsylvania, made a report that they were received in the most cordial manner.

The Chairman addressed the committee in an extended speech on the subject of State rights and suffrage, which was listened to with great respect and attention by the very able and distinguished gentlemen composing the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. GEORGE T. DOWNING called the attention of the committee to the fact that there was a discrimination as to the distribution of bounties, based solely on the fact that some of them had been unjustly enslaved because of their color.

Mr. DOWNING as chairman of the business committee, submitted the following, which was adopted:

Resolved, That justice and expediency require that the colored children and youth of our land should have equal opportunities for education in those States where public schools are supported by taxation, and should attend the same schools.

Mr. D. D. TURNER, of the committee on the military submitted a report recommending to Congress the passage of a bill for the payment of bounties to colored soldiers.

On motion, the report was received.

Mr. J. M. LANGSTON made a motion that a committee of nine be appointed to wait on General Grant and Schuyler Colfax to tender them the congratulations of the Convention on their election as President and Vice President of the United States.

The following committee was announced: J. M. Langston, George T. Downing, Henry H. Garnett, Robert Purvis, John F. Cook, William C. Matthews, Bishop Campbell, H. M. Turner, and Prof. George B. Vashon.

An able Address to the Colored Citizens of the United States, prepared by the Committee and read by Prof. VASHON, was adopted. We have room to give only a portion of it as follows:

ADDRESS.

"Let us not be found wanting in this crisis of our fate; but let us firmly and unfluchingly address ourselves to the duties of the hour.

"In our present condition we are an unjustly degraded people; for we are stripped, more or less, in every State in this Union, of privileges and franchises which are fully enjoyed by every class of our white fellow-citizens. This ostracism of us, without any crime upon our part, urgently demands redress. And for this redress, and in order to secure our immunity against any future encroachment upon our interests, the current of all political experience points to but one measure; and that is, to render the right of suffrage and of eligibility to office as universal as citizenship itself. We all understand fully the importance of this right of suffrage; we know that it is the dearest treasure in the gift of any government—the strongest weapon in the possession of the subject, repelling the approaches of despotism and guaranteeing the possession of all other franchises—a weapon that, in the expressive language of Whittier—

"Executes a freeman's will,
As lightning doth the will of God."

"Now, to deny such a right to one class of citizens while it is accorded to another, without a good reason for such a discrimination, is manifestly unjust and anti-republican. Let us, then, in the premises, appeal to Congress, reminding it that the Federal Constitution, in article four, section four, provides that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government. Let us urge upon that body and upon the great mass of the American people whom it represents that, in settling the definition of this epithet, "republican," we are not estopped, either by ancient or modern assumptions of it for the purpose of describing manifest tyrannies, from interpreting it in the light derived from the Declaration of Independence—that Magna Charter of our liberties—that, setting aside Grecian and Roman precedents, as well as those of mediæval Europe and of the fathers of our own Government, blinded, as the latter were, by a spirit of compromise, or hampered by evils which they confidently believed to be ephemeral, we should determine and insist upon it that a "republican form of government" is one deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed—one in which taxation is the correlative of the right to be represented therein. Let us appeal to them to consider that most of our State governments are mere aristocracies, the most intolerable, because by them the insignia of (so-called) republican nobility are conferred upon the many while they are withheld from the few. And, in making this appeal, let us insist, as we rightfully can do, upon our citizenship and upon the proofs of determined manhood and loyalty manifested by colored men at different periods of our national history, and especially during the late unholy rebellion. If the black soldiers' prowess at Red Bank, of Revolutionary fame, and at New Orleans during the war of 1812, is forgotten, surely his gallant bearing at Fort Pillow and before Petersburg still dwells in the memory of the country, for which he gave the highest manifestations of his love, and which he hopes will yet prove grateful for his devotion and self-sacrifice."

After referring to the subject of education the Address closes with the following:

"And we shall now conclude by returning with a Cato-like persistence to the all-important subject of universal suffrage, and reiterating our entreaties that each and every one of you, fellow-citizens, make that matter one of personal moment, and never cease in his endeavors, by petitions and memorials to Congress, to secure its triumph until that triumph is an accomplished fact. Then, indeed, shall we confidently trust in the prospect of a bright and glorious future for our country. Then will she, proud of the fealty and devotion alike of her white and of her black children, sit honored among the nations. Then will her renown, acquired by territorial extent, by prosperous industrial enterprises, by the brilliant achievements of her armies and navies, by her successful and laureled competition in every department of literature, science, and art, be eclipsed by her prouder glory, vaunting that, through all her widely extended confines, the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are secured to each and all of her citizens of whatever condition or hue."

Senator THAYER and Representative BROOMALL briefly addressed the Convention.

After a brief, eloquent address from the President and the singing of two verses of "Old John Brown," and the "Doxology," the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

THE COLORED DEPUTATION—GEN. GRANT.

ON Tuesday the 19th inst., the Committee of the Colored Men's National Convention, recently in session in this city, called upon Gen. Grant by appointment. Mr. Langston, the Chairman of the Committee, addressed Gen. Grant as follows:

"GEN. GRANT: In the name of 4,000,000 of American citizens: in the name of 700,000 electors of African descent—electors who braved threats, who defied intimidation, whose numbers have been reduced by assassination and murder in their efforts in the exercise of a franchise guaranteed by American law to every one clothed in the full livery of American citizenship, to secure in the late Presidential canvass the election of the nominees of the National Republican party to the high places to which they were named, we, the accredited delegates of the National Convention of colored men, the sessions of which in this city have just closed, come to present to you our congratulations upon your election to the Presidency of the United States. Permit us, General, to express, in this connection, our confidence in your ability and determination to so execute the laws already enacted by our National Congress as to conserve and protect the life, the liberty, and the rights, no less of the humblest subject of the government than those of the most exalted and influential. Called as you are to fill the Chair of State, your duties will be arduous and trying, and (especially since in this reconstruction period of the government, removing the rubbish, the accretions of the now dead slaveholding oligarchy), you will administer the government according to the principles of morals and law announced by the fathers. In advance we bring to you, General, as a pledge of our devotion to our common country and government, the liveliest sympathy of the colored people of the nation, and in their name we express the hope that all things connected with the administration of the government, upon which you are so soon to enter as our Chief Magistrate, may be, under Providence, so ordered for the maintenance of law and the conservation of freedom; that your name, written high on the scroll of honor and fame—may go down to posterity—glorious and immortal—associated with the names of your illustrious predecessors in the great chair of State—Washington and Lincoln. Again, General, we express our congratulations."

To this address Gen. Grant replied:

"I thank the Convention, of which you are the representative, for the confidence it has expressed, and I hope sincerely that the colored people of the Nation may receive every protection which the laws give to them. They shall have my efforts to secure such protection. They should prove by their acts, their advancement, prosperity and obedience to the laws, worthy of all privileges the government has bestowed upon them; and by their future conduct prove themselves deserving of all they now claim."

[The address of Speaker Colfax to the same Committee we regret being unable to obtain for publication.—Ed.]

NATIONAL COLORED CONVENTION—ITS CHARACTER AND OBJECTS.

From the Washington Chronicle.

A MARKED and remarkable assemblage was the National Convention of colored men which closed its sessions in Israel church, Saturday afternoon.

Many of them but yesterday held as property, to-day coming together to ask full and equal rights, defended by law and guaranteed by Constitution all over the land, and making their just requests with a dignity, eloquence, clearness, and breadth of comprehension that command respect. No ordinary motive or occasion could call together a hundred and fifty men, many of them travelling long distances at heavy cost, and but few of them wealthy. They came under the pressure of a great need, and inspired with a sense of the vital importance of their wishes, not merely to themselves, but to all loyal men in the South, and to the peace and welfare of the Republic.

Seldom does one see a public assembly in which are so many men whose aspect arrests attention, and gives proof of capacity, character, and earnest purpose. Impulsive, eager to speak, (no wonder after being gagged so long), confused and noisy in the heat of debate, too technical touching minor points of order, and wasting too much time thereon, there was no doubt; but this will mend with longer use of new privileges—and we have seen the "noise and confusion" more than matched in political assemblies of white men; but out of their confusion came order when a vital point was reached, and then there was rare eloquence of speech, and reading of documents fit to win attention anywhere.

Not only did men like Garnett, Langston, Weir, and Downing, who have been free and educated, speak with ability and power, but men from the South not thus favored in the past, bore worthy part in debate. Turner, of Georgia, had active energy enough to stock several average Anglo-Americans. Simms, of South Carolina, (brother of the slave taken back from Boston in the dark days of the fugitive slave law), showed himself a *gentleman*; several North Carolinians gave proof of notable ability, and others from other regions represented worthily and eloquently the ideas which led them here. The commanding presence of Frederick Douglass well filled the place of President, and the courtly grace of Robert Purvis lifted up those near him to the atmosphere of fine manners.

The hopes and desires of the Convention seemed to turn toward the bill and amendment of Hon. G. S. Boutwell, while they gratefully appreciated the plans of other members of both Houses. The interviews of their delegates with the committees of Congress are said to have been pleasant and satisfactory, and it is to be hoped their meeting, at this time and place, may help the the strong and prompt passage through Congress of measures so just, so important, and for the securing of which *now is the golden hour*, that we may have that peace so needed and wished for.

SENATOR SUMNER.

From the Worcester (Mass.) Spy.

OUR State has been happily free from the exciting, bitter and, there is reason to fear, in some cases, corrupting contests which have convulsed the political atmosphere of some of our sister States in the effort to make choice of a United States Senator for the next six years. There has been among us no diversity of opinion on this subject, no other name than that of our present Senator has been suggested as a candidate, and no one has expressed a doubt of his re-election or even a regret at its certainty, or a wish that another choice might be made.

We speak of course only of the party which has sustained him hitherto, and which had the election in its control. It is safe to say that no Republican could have been nominated or elected to either branch of the Legislature who was known to be opposed to the election of Mr. Sumner. This has been so well understood that, even without the formal expression given to the universal sentiment by the resolution adopted at the State Convention, the result of the election yesterday would have been anticipated with entire confidence.

Mr. Sumner has nobly earned this high tribute to his character and usefulness. When he was first elected to the Senate in 1851, there can be no doubt that he was considerably in advance of the general sentiment, even of this State, on the questions which then agitated the country, and already gave rise to ominous indications of the coming storm. He had the good fortune, rare in any case and still more rare for a public man and a statesman, to see the views and principles which he adhered to so persistently and conscientiously, and advocated with such eloquence and courage, gradually gaining favor and becoming the controlling influence in the national councils, which to his enlarged influence, no longer needed to defend them from contempt or attack, was entrusted the honorable responsibility of pointing out and guiding their application to the national policy. The brutal outrage which he suffered in his own person did very much, especially in this State, to illustrate and enforce his opinions, as well as by the intense indignation it provoked against the person who could commit and the state of society which could tolerate it, to increase his popularity and influence.

During all the dangers of the war and the perplexities of reconstruction no other statesman has so well understood the situation, or so clearly seen the true solution of the new problems which were continually demanding attention, and it is remarkable how often his views and methods, though declared at first, even by many of those who sought the same ends, to be impracticable theorizing, have, on maturer consideration and after fruitless experiments in other directions, been finally adopted and acted upon as not only sound in theory but safe and effectual in practice.

If Mr. Sumner ever recalls the memory of the envenomed opposition and detraction with which he was assailed by many influential men in his own State in the early part of his senatorial service, and the charges, which even many of his friends at that time hardly ventured utterly to deny, that he was unpractical, and not a representative of the business interests of Massachusetts, he may be pardoned for a feeling of pride that he has so effectually lived them down, out of existence, and almost out of memory, and that in a service of eighteen years in the highest station in which the fellow-citizens of his native State can place him, he has so entirely won their confidence in his wisdom and integrity, that no one thinks of giving him a successor until he may choose to retire from the public service, or to transfer his labors to another field of usefulness.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 30, 1869.

LOOK AHEAD.

THE late Convention of colored men in Washington was one of great ability and importance. It marks a new era. Organization is strength. That race begins to organize. We predict a quick success to them.

It is to be hoped that their public discussions, and their private representations will have great influence with Congress. They deserve to have. At any rate we trust this will be the first of a series of Conventions; and that colored men will prepare to take their fair share in moulding the Nation's future. Especially we crave their earnest aid in forwarding the Constitutional Amendment. They should give themselves no rest until their rights rest on the same Constitutional guaranty as those of the whites do.

The prospect of the speedy adoption of such an Amendment looks dark. We feel that all the reactionary forces are rallying against it. Still changes we never dreamt of seeing in our day have come, and come suddenly upon us. Events may force us forward. Now or later we shall be driven to such a measure by the misconduct of the South. That resource, that aid, we may be sure will not fail us for many a year.

What a living wonder it is that men will never learn by the experience of others! Trumbull, Fessenden, Conkling and others go on in the same stupid steps as did their predecessors; trying to shelter themselves from the wave of advancing ideas behind technicalities and cut and dried phrases. They are digging for themselves the same sort of graves as those which hold Crittenden and Webster, Davis and Winthrop. How long will men with eyes in the backs of their heads undertake to lead their generation! We are not necessarily to blame this as corruption. In able men it might be so. But with weak men it is often honest blindness, the result of ignorance or timidity.

One thing the past year shows us. The negro race, like the Indian, will need, for some time to come, special attention. Could the white race have risen to the level of a real statesmanship and inaugurated a condition of affairs based on deep and absolute principle; could it have made our path run parallel with the laws of Nature and God, the Nation might soon have discarded all reference to race. But the fatal and hateful phrase "White Man's Government" still rules half the Senate, two-thirds of the Army (including Sherman) and the whole Supreme Court, we must prepare therefore for a long wandering in the Desert. Hence we hail, with special satisafction, the plan proposed, at Washington, to sink the Department of the Interior into a mere Bureau of Statistics. Then to create a Department of Home Affairs; and give to it the care of the Negro race, the Indian race, Immigration, Agriculture, etc.

If we had Statesmen at Washington we should leap at once to our goal, and ignore race, recognizing the cardinal principle of American civilization—MAN, not *race* or *caste*. But being still children, we cannot yet put away childish things. What the Bureau of Freedmen did not do and what Johnson's treason, and Fessenden's petulance, and Trumbull's fussiness and Conkling's ignorance leave to be done, must be slowly cared for, year after year. One ounce of practical knowledge as to what their admitted principles bound them to, would have saved our Fathers and us all their and our Indian troubles, and the *thousand million of dollars* we have spent in murdering Indians since 1789. Three Statesmen in Washington since 1861, patriotic enough not to quarrel, could have saved us half the war debt and half the trouble ahead. But experience keeps a very dear school. The Nation bleeds and sweats because lawyers who can pick holes in an indictment are flattered into thinking themselves Statesmen.

Hence we hail with great satisfaction, the returning good sense which makes the best of our situation and plans to give us a Department for Home affairs. It is, at least, a pledge that the Nation means to try to do its Duty to these races—until impartial Justice render all such partial measures unneccessary. In time we shall rise to the appreciation of what an EMPIRE means—the home of all races, all creeds, all tongues; covering them all with the shield of an equal and impartial law. At present the narrow pride of one self conceited race is our broadest type of patriotism. Hence we must use go-carts and make shifts till our infant faculties come of age.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

BOSTON, January 26th, 1869.

IT will be pleasant to our readers to know that the meetings to be held here this week under the auspices of the Committee of the LADIES' SUBSCRIPTION FESTIVAL, and of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY promise to be unusually interesting. The Festival will be held in Horticultural Hall on Thursday evening, on which occasion Mrs. JULIA WARD HOWE is expected to read an original poem. Also a poem by JOHN G. WHITTIER, it is expected, will be read by Miss ELLERY, and brief addresses will be delivered by WENDELL PHILLIPS and Rev. JOHN WEISS. The meetings of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will also be held in Horticultural Hall, with a strong array of speakers. Of these meetings our readers may expect some account in THE STANDARD of next week.

A special meeting of The Radical Club is to be held to-morrow in Mrs. SARGENT's parlors. Mr. WILLIAM J. LINTON, the well-known English artist, is to read an essay. He is an earnest advocate of Universal Radical Republicanism, and is in some official capacity a representative in this country of European Republicans.

Among the new "notions" in Boston is a course of Sunday afternoon Free Religious meetings. The second meeting of the course was held in Horticultural Hall on Sunday afternoon last, and was addressed by Mrs. JULIA WARD HOWE. The hall was crowded to its utmost capacity and many were unable to gain admission.

Of course there is much interest felt in Radical circles here for the success of the Constitutional Amendment and Political Rights Bill offered by Mr. BOUTWELL and now under consideration in the House. In this latitude Mr. SUMNER'S, more comprehensive bill, buried in the vault of the Senate's Judiciary Committee—supplemented and confirmed by a Constitutional Amendment—would be more acceptable. If Senators and Representatives would have "peace" for themselves, for Gen Grant, and for the nation, let them see to it that while their days of opportunity continue, they secure, and as far as it is in their power guarantee, equal political rights throughout all the States irrespective of race or complexional differences.

A. M. P.

BOWLES—HAMLIN.

We return a moment to the magnified and martyred Bowles of Springfield, to notice that he calls the career of HANIBAL HAMLIN, "dirty-shirt demagogueism." (The bad spelling is his). This is the epithet applied to HAMLIN, who submitted with such magnanimity to the party folly of 1864; and resigned a rich office—the Boston Collectorship—rather than countenance Johnson's treachery. If this is such *Journalism* as Boston men think worthy of the honor of a public dinner, we advise them to include Brick Pomeroy in the invitation. He surely is an emminent saint on that calendar.

While on this topic we will add, for the information of the *New York Times*, that the "true men" we charged Bowles with abusing, were not ourselves and such like. Abuse of ourselves was too universal to form a line in any discriminating portrait. The abuse we alluded to was that flung for ten years, on Governor ANDREW, CHARLES SUMNER and their comrades—men whom Bowles followed up with malignant misrepresentation on every occasion.

W. P.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Woman Suffrage Bill passed the Council of the Dakota Legislature on the 11th instant, by a majority of four, after having been so amended as to require the question to go to the people at the next October election.

THE City Council of Elgin, Ill., have closed the schools for colored children, and have also forbidden them from entering any other schools in the city. The members of the Elgin City Council evidently need to be "reconstructed."

We devote a large portion of our space this week to a synopsis of the proceedings of the National Colored Convention, for which we are indebted in large part to the *Washington Chronicle's* report. We are reluctantly obliged to defer the favors of several correspondents and other interesting matters, intended for our present issue.

In the Georgia Legislature on the 22nd inst, a "resolution that colored people are entitled, and should of right be permitted, to serve on juries, whenever such persons are upright and inteligent, and no distinction should be made against persons on account of race or color," was voted down. A legislature which can expel duly elected members on account of complexional differences, can of course in its own halls have every thing its own way. What will Congress do about it?

AARON M. POWELL will address the Free Congregational Society of Florence, Mass, on Sunday, February 7th.

DEFECTIVE ORIGINAL COPY

PERSONAL.

Rev. J. Sella Martin, formerly of Boston, has become pastor of a colored Presbyterian church at Washington.

Joshua Hutchinson, associated with Walter Kittredge, commenced a series of concerts in Bucks Co., Pa., this week. Mr. Hutchinson, we understand, intends visiting the principal places in that county, and will proceed from thence to Chester Co., Pa. We bespeak for him a cordial reception from his many friends in Eastern Pennsylvania.

Edward McPherson Esq., Clerk of the House, Washington City, D. C., is actively engaged upon the life and times of Thaddeus Stevens, for early publication, and will be glad to receive copies of letters of the deceased on political topics from 1828 to 1868, and any personal incident illustrating any point in his career in any feature of his character.

The Commonwealth of the 23d inst. says:

"The new course of Sunday afternoon meetings at Horticultural Hall, was opened by Rev. John Weiss, in a discourse which we present in full. The audience was good, and the discourse gave much satisfaction to those who heard it. Mrs. Howe will speak to-morrow, and probably Mr. Wasson on the 31st; Rev. W. J. Potter, of New Bedford, on the 7th of February, and Mr. Emerson, Col. Higginson and Rev. O. B. Frothingham in the latter part of the course."

The Washington correspondent of *The* (Boston) *Commonwealth*, speaking of Lucretia Mott, says:

"I listened, on Sunday afternoon, to a discourse from this eminent minister of the Society of Friends, who spoke to a crowded auditory from the same pulpit in which Rev. Dr. Lothrop, of your city, had officiated in the morning. She cited, as suggestive of her subject, the saying of Jesus, 'Every plant which my Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up.' It was a clear and forcible presentation of the idea of the radical extinction of error by the power of truth, which is itself indestructible and will progressively overcome all opposition, and which depends not for its vitality upon any formulas or outward institutions, however good they may be in themselves, nor upon any miracles, however true; for the truth existed before them, and will survive them all. At the close she said the only formal benediction she would repeat was that which was once pronounced by Elias Hicks: 'To the Christ that was never crucified, to the Christ that was never slain, to the Christ that can never die, I commend you all.'"

The *Rondout* (N. Y.,) *Freeman* of the 13th inst. says:

"Wendell Phillips delivered the most splendid lecture on Wednesday evening that he has ever presented to a Rondout audience, and probably the most popular one he has ever given here. The purpose of his effort was to dethrone the caste spirit wherever it prevails, and Daniel O'Connell was selected as the subject because his history presented in its strongest light the odious nature of persecution on account of religion and race. Mr. Phillips' life-long battle has been to destroy this spirit, and it was therefore easy for him to trace the connection between freeing the negro and no longer withholding from him civil equality, and the struggle of the Roman Catholics in Ireland for the removal of the disabilities imposed on them. * * * * In its description of the wrongs perpetrated in Ireland and the horrors which were meted out to the peasantry, the lecture was truly thrilling.

"This is altogether the best lecture we ever heard Mr. Phillips' deliver, and it was a real pleasure to listen to his eloquent voice. His effort is incomparably ahead of anything we have had this winter, and contains in it the seed of great good. The audience was the largest of the season, and also the best."

The Boston Correspondent of the *Springfield Republican* says:

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

"Mr C. K. Whipple, Bowdoin street, who is acting for the Woman Suffrage Association of which Mrs. Howe is president, sends out petitions to be signed and presented to Congress and the State Legislature. One of them asks Congress, in any proposed amendment of the Constitution which it may agree to, to stipulate that there shall be no restriction on account of sex. It may be reasonable to ask for this; but there will be no reason to find fault with even the friends of woman's suffrage in Congress if they pay no attention to the request. The suffrage question which is imminent in Congress concerns the restrictions on color. It will be ten, perhaps fifty, years before any amendment of the Constitution doing away with sex restrictions can be ratified by the required number of States. An amendment requiring no distinction of color or race may be carried now and cannot hinder the other. The petition to the Legislature asks for an amendment of our own Constitution. This ought to be made. At any rate, the opponents of the measure ought to be compelled to show why it should not be made. Such drivel as that which is contained in Rev. Mr. Fulton's sermons on this subject helps the women suffrage people, because it serves to show that there is absolutely nothing to be said against compliance with their requests. And unless the enemy sets his essayists and thinkers to work, the case will go by default, at least in the opinion of the people who think, and in the long run they will rule."

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, January 24th, 1869.

OUR free concerts, given by the city in the Music Hall, continue to be a perfect success, answering their purpose admirably, and attended by three thousand people every week, quietly occupying all the seats, and all the available standing room. The conductors have judiciously varied the entertainment, giving sometimes the music of the great organ alone, sometimes the performance of a band, and sometimes vocal pieces with a piano, alternating with the organ. Last week four reasonably good singers gave us quartettes and songs, and to make it seem more real and natural, (as Dick Swiveller said when he called his new aquaintance "the Marchioness)," they once made the audience wait a little unreasonably. Probably, even then, it was but an added enjoyment for the boys to exercise their right of clapping to hasten the tardy performers. The whole seemed to be heartily enjoyed, and a passage from one of Haydn's Symphonies received applause, as well as the pieces more familiar to the audience then present.

In the very interesting course of lectures now in progress before the Lowell Institute, given by members of the Historical Society, there came one last week by Hon. Emory Washburn, on "Slavery as it once Prevailed in Massachusetts." His object was to examine how far slavery was legalized here as an institution, and how far the people of the Commonwealth were responsible for its introduction and continuance, and upon these points many interesting facts were given.

At the time when this colony was founded, not only did slavery prevail in England, but the slave trade was an established branch of commerce in every nation. Scotch prisoners, taken at the battle of Dunbar, were sent to Boston for sale, and were sold, as late as 1650. The English government insisted on maintaining its commercial policy of the slave trade, and the American colonies were relied on as the market for this commerce. The Massachusetts colony, therefore could not prohibit the importation or sale of slaves. What they did in regard to this subject, we find in the State paper called "The Body of Liberties," adopted in 1641. Slavery was one of the topics there treated; but no allusion was made to color, race, or creed in connection with it. Man-stealing was a capital offence; and it was declared that "there shall never be any bond slavery, villanage or captivity amongst us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons, doth morally require."

This law limited and restricted the customs and laws already existing in relation to slavery and threw its protection around the children of slaves; and in accordance with this document, the courts of Massachusetts have uniformly held that no child born here since 1641 was ever by law a slave.

In a few instances Indians were sold as slaves for theft; and Indians taken captive in the Pequot war, and in King Philip's war, were sent out of the country and sold.

It does not appear when negro slavery was introduced. We know, however, that it did not come with Winthrop's company. It is recorded in 1638, that Sam. Maverick was the owner of three slaves. In 1645, a vessel brought some negroes from Africa to Boston for sale; but the magistrates forbade the sale of these victims of the kidnapper, and they were sent back to Africa at the expense of the colony. In 1703, a law was passed forbidding the emancipation of a slave without giving bonds that his support should not be a charge upon the town; the intent obviously being that those who had held a slave as long as his labor was profitable should not evade the support of his later years. In 1680, Gov. Bradstreet estimates the number of slaves in the colony to be from 100 to 120. In 1708, Gov. Dudley judged them to be 550. Between 1740 and 1760, according to Dr. Belknap's estimate, the number was largest, amounting at one time to 4489; the proportion between the blacks (slave and free) and the whites being only one to forty-five, while in Virginia, at the same time, there were ten blacks to eight whites. These facts show that if there was, at any time, a regular trade in slaves here, it was not an extensive one, and was not supported nor favored, by public opinion.

No slave woman ever worked as a field hand in Massachusetts, and even when slavery was most prevalent, only one family in seven or eight owned even one slave.

In 1700, a pamphlet against slavery was published by Judge Sewall. The Quakers were opposed to the system from the first, and from them proceeded the first organized opposition ever made to slavery, Nantucket taking the lead. In 1755, citizens of Salem sent a remonstrance to the Legislature against slaveholding, and citizens of Boston did the same thing soon after. In 1765, there was strong effort made against the system in pamphlets and newspapers. 1772, a legal decision was given in favor of slaves, and their testimony against white people was admitted in court. When the case of an escaped slave was in question, the jury never returned him to slavery, but always declared him free. Shortly before the Revolution, many towns petitioned the General Court to prevent the importation of slaves. In 1777, a petition for the abolition of slavery was sent to the General Court by negroes; that body referred the petition to Congress, and it was probably tabled there. A Nantucket ship-master who had hired a slave paid the wages to him instead of to his master.

The Bill of Rights of Massachusetts, adopted in 1780, opened with the declaration that all men are born free and equal, and have certain inalienable rights; and her highest judicial tribunal decided that this implied the abolition of slavery. Every member of the court which pronounced this judgment had been a member of the Convention which formed the Constitution of 1780, and two of the judges were on the committee to draft the Bill of Rights. One of these, Judge Sullivan, said in 1795, in a letter to Dr. Belknap, that it was this decision which put an end to the idea of slavery in Massachusetts.

In closing this very interesting lecture, Mr. Washburn designated some salient points of contrast between the slavery of 1660 in Massachusetts and that of 1860 elsewhere. Slavery here did not divide the people into castes, nor interfere with education, nor create a party disposed to oppose its abolition and strive for its perpetuity.

As I expected, a large and fine audience assembled this afternoon to hear Mrs. Julia Ward Howe in Horticultural Hall. Her subject was the General Aspect of Religion in Society. She gave no definition of religion, saying that to attempt this would be to impose upon religion the limitations of our present knowledge, whereas our ideas of religion should have liberty to grow with the growth of our experience.

Mrs. Howe pointed out the importance of distinguishing between religion and its organization, saying that a church might go on a long time without religion.

Though belonging to the spiritual department, religion is not without a market value. In the South, a slave always brought more money when his religious character could be certified; and all over the country religion is esteemed valuable in wives and mothers.

The possession of the religious idea is common to all, but the form is infinitely various. The true form of religion is the embodiment of life, the false, of death; true religion consists neither in destroying forms nor sustaining them. Some religionists cultivate forms of materia luxury, and others forms of words, but both are departures from the true religious idea.

Faith is the initial form of knowledge. Genuine faith and genuine knowledge are different stages of the same thing. Sentimentalism is the love of beauty divorced from use. Formalism is the love of order divorced from substance.

There is great contest about the form and substance of the primitive church; but does the fact of a primitive church require that all other churches should be derivative?

Some speculators represent God as a passive, unconscious impersonality. This is not a satisfactory view of him.

The popular view of the atonement of Christ makes it a heathen sacrifice to a heathen deity. The church has been more busy in acting the sacrifice of Christ's death than in seeking the secret of his life.

The godlike in man is the continued choice of good. Must it not be the same in God? The Divine is the culmination of activity in labor *for the good of all*. This is the imitable part of Divinity. If we recognize God as the infinite of good will and service, we shall seek to form ourselves upon that pattern.

I have given but a few of the just and beautiful thoughts contained in Mrs. Howe's discourse. She closed it with a warm tribute of admiration to Theodore Parker, John A. Andrew, and Abraham Lincoln, to whose lives she referred as illustrations of religion.

Rev. David A. Watson is to speak next Sunday afternoon. I understand that the projectors of this course designed it as an opportunity for the unfettered expression of the best and freshest thought, from various sources, and various points of view, and hoped that each would speak from the subject nearest his heart. The list of speakers engaged gives good promise that this opportunity will be frankly used, and the benefit of such free speech is incalculable. NORTH.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, January 25th, 1869.

IT may be interesting to you to know that in this city there are twenty-three Temperance organizations, called "Lodges of Good Templars." They hold their meetings once a week, and doubtless comprise within their membership many earnest men and women who do the best they know in behalf of promoting the great cause of Temperance. What their special methods are, how they chiefly work, and what they positively accomplish as a durable benefit to the community, is to me quite unknown. It is claimed that they do a great deal of good, not only in this city and State, but throughout the United States. It is said that the number of members of the Lodges in Pennsylvania is over forty thousand, and that their labors have largely contributed to the beneficent end of saving men from drunkenness and drunkards' graves.

Considerable talk has taken place here recently on this particular subject, and the columns of some of our newspapers have been open to much writing touching the matter. In all that has been said it does not seem as though these lodges could give satisfactory evidence of efficient labor, or active energy in producing the best results of which they are capable. This may be an erroneous conclusion, but when the members, in landing their respective organizations, claiming for them effective and vital service in their special path of duty, eulogize them as pleasant evening gatherings, where an hour or two may be spent in an entertaining manner, we are not apt to infer that the earnestness is all that it ought to be, or that there is a force of purpose there that manfully deals hard blows against the terrible foe. These associations do not make themselves thoroughly felt in the community. Their influence is not powerful enough. They are too tame and motionless. They never have proved that they are grandly in earnest. Are the liquor shops less numerous because these lodges are manifold? Is the large number included in their membership, in inverse proportion to the numbers that patronize the other establishments? That so many of the latter exist in our community and live, indicates that their patronage must be immense. Are they increasing in number, or diminishing? The most palpable evidence favors the first branch of the inquiry. It seems manifest that drunkenness and moderate drinking, its preliminary condition, more than keep pace with all the efforts that are made to promote Temperance, and thwart its adversary. This is indeed deplorable. When these organizations succeed in branding the social wine cup as an iniquity, and fashionable indulgence in polite beverages as a legitimate part of the stupendous curse, an important end will have been achieved.

When they are able to reach the conscience of "good" society, and impress thereon a conviction of the sin that is participated in so callously, changing that society from antagonism into alliance, a great step forward will have been taken, and a huge barrier to progress in the cause swept away. Odium and conscious guilt should reach these sources and fountains of intemperance, and it seems as though it would be wise for temperance families to relinquish the aping fashion of serving such innocent beverages as lemonade and raspberry vinegar, just for the sake of testimony and example. How we extol those receptions in Washington (alas! too few and rare) where the red liquid is forbidden to decorate the entertainment. We cannot praise the example too highly, nor condemn too oft or earnestly the more common practice.

It is always a satisfaction to tell of good action and resolve, and appropriately here I may mention that, in general orders No. 2, issued by our new Chief of Police, appointed by the recently installed Democratic Mayor, it is decreed that "No member of the Police force will be permitted to enter a tavern, hotel, or drinking saloon, except to quell a disturbance or make an arrest. *Any infraction of this rule will be punished with instant dismissal.*" Verily, this is commendable, and may prove to be of great moment to this community. It is an admirable hint to every respectable citizen. I wonder if a Republican would have been so bold as to establish such a rule. W.

COLORED JURORS.

LETTER FROM ROBERT MORRIS, ESQ.

BOSTON, January 15th, 1869.

To the Editor of the Standard:

LAST week's paper contains a letter from Seth Hunt in which he says, "last week I had the pleasure of seeing a colored man in the jury-box at a session of the Superior Court of Massachusetts. This I believe, is the first instance of the kind in the Northern States." He is somewhat behind the times. Let me set him right.

Eight or ten years ago—it may not have been quite so long—William A. Anderson was summoned to attend a criminal term of our Superior Court at Boston as a traverse Juror, and was sworn in. Anderson was nearly white, the Anglo-Saxon blood (so-called) predominating about seven-eighths. Before a case had been put to the panel, somehow it leaked out that Anderson had a little "colored" blood in his veins, and the court at once excused him from any further attendance. He however received his fees for one day's attendance as a juror.

Since then there has hardly been a term of our Superior Court, criminal or civil, but that more or less colored citizens have served as traverse jurors.

Within the last three years, colored men have served as jurors in our Supreme Judicial Court, and at two recent terms of the United States District Court, held in Boston, colored men have served as traverse jurors. I am also glad to state that, within the past year colored men have served on the Grand Jury for our county of Suffolk. Northampton must stand aside—Boston ranks first, unless some other Northern city or town can show a better record.

About a year ago, in the Supreme Judicial Court an Irishman was placed at the bar for trial on an indictment for murder. Among the jurors summoned was a colored man, the junior counsel for the accused was a very intelligent Irishman, a major in the army. Seven or eight jurors had been called and challenged when John B. Baily, the colored man was called. He came forward and took his place in the jury box. Mr. Wilde the venerable clerk of our Supreme Court said, "juror look upon the prisoner—prisoner look upon the juror"—their eyes met; there was no challenge this time, and Baily was the first juror accepted and sworn. Mark you, this was a case where an Irishman, an entire stranger to Baily, was on trial for his life, and the first man accepted to serve on the pannel to pass on the question of his guilt or innocence, was a colored man, *without any alloy.*

Let me give you a reminiscense. Two years ago Edwin G. Walker, Esq of Charleston was sent to our State Legislature from Ward three, by the votes of his Irish friends. He is a good lawyer, a good debater, sustains the reputation of a good public speaker, and was a popular man in the House. Last year at a *Republican* caucus, he was fairly nominated for a second term; but his *Republican* friends threw their vote against him on election day, thus aiding the election of a *Democrat* in his place, while most, if not all of his Irish friends voted for him. Queer Republicans those of Ward three, Charleston.

Your Northampton correspondent is sadly behind the times. Some day I'll give you some reminiscences of my early experiences as Attorney in our Courts.

ROBERT MORRIS.

COLORED JURORS IN THE NORTHERN STATES.

To the Editor of the Standard;

BOSTON, January 26th, 1869.

MY attention has been called to a communication in THE STANDARD for January 9th, alluding to a recent case in Northampton, Mass., as the first instance of a colored juror in the Northern States.

Francis U. Clough was drawn to serve at Worcester at the term of the Superior Court for trial of civil cases in December, 1865, but did not, however, take his seat until March, 1866; and thus, the "Heart of the Commonwealth" is entitled to the honor of appointing the first colored juror.

Ten years' efforts had been put forth by the colored citizens of Boston to secure that right, but it was not until May, 1866, that their exertions (which were signally promoted by Hon. Charles W. Slack, then a member of the Board of Aldermen) were successful, and John B. Bailey was the first drawn, and he served in, a capital case in the Supreme Court of Suffolk County. Since which time throughout the old Bay State, colored jurors have been drawn in fair proportion

The reminiscenses of colored jurors in the United States would constitute an interesting and instructive chapter in the history of the colored citizens equally before the law. Yours, fraternally,

WILLIAM C. NELL.

THE CRETANS' APPEAL.

ENCOURAGED by the justness of our cause and the sympathy that has already been so liberally extended to us, we venture once more to call upon the citizens of New York for aid. We are not unmindful of the kindness heretofore bestowed upon us, and for this we can never be sufficiently grateful. Yet our sorrows are many, and so long and so patiently have we borne them, that we are compelled to ask once more for the boon of your charity. A cruelly persecuted people in this great era of religious and political enlightenment, in this age of mental progress, we are actually dying of starvation and misery, while the most fortunate among us are striving to satisfy the cravings of hunger by a scanty pittance of bread moistened by the bitterest of tears. Our tormentors, who have long since, at the tribunal of humanity, forfeited every inherited right to control us still practice upon us cruelties at which all Christendom shudders. The pagans of Europe, they know no higher motive than the satisfaction of their rapacity; no nobler aim than a savage despotism; no dictates more worthy than the gratification of every unmanly and degrading passion. Barbarians, they torture us for our faith; tyrants, they vex our patriots' souls, our only crime being that we love our native land too well to abandon her. Our bitter sufferings, and, above all, those of our wives and children, compel us to crave your indulgence. Whatever form your benevolence may assume, it will be welcome. There are many in your fortunate city whose superfluities would do much toward satisfying the necessities of our wretched condition. Donations of clothing and money may be sent to the Rev. H. W. Bellows, President, and Rev. Howard Crosby, Prof. H. W. Martin, Dr. C. R. Agnew, the Rev. Dr. Alexander Vinton, W. T. Blodgett, D. W. Botassi, Joseph Thorne, Henry T. Tuckerman, Secretary, S. G. Ward, Treasurer, No. 52 Wall street, and J. M. Rodscawachi, No. 53 Pine street.

LITERARY.

The Atlantic Monthly for February, has a wide range of articles, mostly by well-known writers, as follows: "Malbone: an Oldport Romance," the second part of a serial story, by T. W. Higginson; "The Doorstep," a poem by Edmund C. Stedman; "Our Postal Deficiencies," by E. Hasket Derby; "Co-operative Housekeeping," the fourth of a series of papers that should be read by all housekeepers; "Charles Baudelaire, Poet of the Malign," a sketch of the character and writings of this noted French poet, by Eugene Benson; "Consumption in America," the second paper of a very valuable series on a subject of the greatest practical importance, by Henry I. Bowditch, M. D.; "The Bee and the Rose," a poem; "Ritualism in England," by Arthur Pember; "Proud Music of the Sea-Storm," a poem, by Walt Whitman; "The New Education," a general statement of the demand of the times for a more practical system of education, and an account of the Scientific and Technological schools founded to furnish it, by Charles W. Eliot; "Birth of the Solar System," by James D. Whelpley; "Love in Mount Lebanon," by J. W. DeForest; "Tribute of a Loving Friend to the memory of a Noble Woman," (the Dutchess of Sutherland), by Mrs. H. B. Stowe; "Our Four Servants," Reviews, and Literary Notices.

The contents of *Putnam's Magazine* for February are: "The Ass in Life and Letters," by H. T. Tuckerman; "Work, Wages, Combinations, etc.," by C. C. P. Clake; "A New Œdipus," by Leonard Kip; "In the Saddle, on the Plains," by F. G. Gedney; "An Invocation," by R. H. Stoddard; "Substance and Shadow," a Phantasy, by Eugene Benson; "A Violin Stop," by Elizabeth Stoddard; "Without and Within;" "A Sermon at Notre-Dame," by Author of "Still-Life;" "The Tryst;" "To-Day:" a Romance, Ch. IV, V, by R. B. Kimball; "Men's Rights," by Mrs. R. Harding Davis; "The Gallows in America," by Edmund C. Stedman; "Love Cancels All," by C. F. Bates; "Correspondence—a New York Business Man in Rome," by Sinclair Tousey; "Literature at Home," by Edmund C. Stedman; "Literature, Science and Art Abroad," by Bayard Taylor; "Table-Talk," by Clarence Cook; "Fine Arts," by S. S. Conant; "Current Events," by V. B. Denslow; Literary Bulletin.

Lippincott's Magazine for February contains: "Beyond the Breakers," a novel—Part II., with a full-page illustration by Schuessele, by Hon. Robert Dale Owen; "A New Legend," by Howard Glyndon; "Mr. Thackeray," by James M. Barnes; "New Wine in Old Bottles," by Eunice Drayton; "My Chalet," a poem by T. Buchanan Read; "Price of a Dream," a story by Frank Lee Benedict; "Phenomena of Memory," by Prof. Samuel H. Dickson; "American Artists in Rome," by Anne Brewster; "Over Yonder," a Charming Novelette, —Part I., by the author of "The Old Mam'selle's Secret," "Gold Elsie," etc.; "The Secret Agent in Foreign Parts;" "Southern Reconstruction, by a Tennesseean;" "A Pennsylvania Magazine in 1775," by Jessie E. Ringwalt, Our Monthly Gossip, Literature of the day.

Out of the Fire, is the title of a new book just published by the National Temperance Society, of 420 pages, 12mo., written by Miss Mary D. Chellis, author of *The Temperance Doctor, Deacon Sin's Prayers*, etc., etc. The well-earned reputation of the author is fully sustained in this new and valuable addition to our Temperance literature. The evils of the drinking customs of society, and the blessings of sobriety and total abstinence, are strikingly developed in the history of various families in the community. The quiet but hallowed influence of a pure-hearted and devoted cripple is felt by an entire village, and the evils of drunkenness, together with the sure and inevitable tendency of moderate drinking, are graphically depicted. This work should have a wide circulation. J. N. Stearns, Publishing Agent, 172 William street, N. Y.

The publisher of *The Woman's Advocate*, the new monthly established in this city, offers a series of prizes —One Hundred, Fifty, and Twenty-Five Dollars respectively—for the best stories bearing upon any of the phases of the "Woman Question." Writers entering into competition for the prizes must submit their MSS. in season for a committee to make awards by June next. These very liberal premiums, with the interest enlisted in the Question, will doubtless stimulate a spirited competition, and enable the publisher to offer a rich, intellectual treat to the public.

Harper's Magazine for February contains; "A Sleigh-Ride through Eastern Russia;" "Spent and Miss-Spent;" "Zanzibar," with illustrations; "Spain;" "The Executive Departments and Seals," with illustrations; "Grandpapa's Baby;" "Chivalrous and Semi-Chivalrous Southrons;" "Isabella II.," Ex-Queen of Spain; "Fate and Daisies;" "My Enemy's Daughter," illustrated; "Preachers and Preaching;" "A Wife of the Period;" "Changes in Population;" "Refugee Life;" "Stars;" "The Insurance on the Highflyer;" "Light Houses;" "The Morning Hour;" Editor's Easy Chair; Editor's Book Table; Monthly Record of Events; Editor's Drawer.

Littell's Living Age, No. 1286, for the week ending January 23d, contains Dean Milman, *Frazer's Magazine;* Peel, by Goldwin Smith, *Macmillan's Magazine;* A House of Cards, Part XI, *Tinsley's Magazine;* The Voices of Nature, *Macmillan's Magazine;* The Country House on the Rhine, Part X, by Berthold Auerbach, author of "On the Heights," etc., translated for *The Living Age* from *Die Presse;* Hans Breitman, *Spectator;* The Danger of Greece, *Spectator;* Men and Gentlemen, *Saturday Review;* Indian Conspiracy, *Spectator;* Note Books of Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Saturday Review;* besides numerous short articles, and poetry.

To new subscribers, remitting to the publishers for the year 1869, THE LIVING AGE is sent from the beginning of Auerbach's romance (No. 1277) to January 1st, 1869, *free of charge.* Littell & Gay, publishers, 30 Bromfield st., Boston.

RECEIVED.

HAPPY THOUGHTS. By F. C. Barnard. 303 pp. "Handy-Volume-Series." Boston: Roberts Brothers.

BETTER VIEWS OF LIVING. By A. B. Child. 154 pp. Boston: Adams & Co.

OUTLINES OF COMPOSITION. By H. R. Zander and T. E. Howard. 202 pp. Boston: Robert S. Davis & Co.; New York: Oakly & Mason.

DOCTOR JACOB. By M. Bethane Edwards. 375 pp. "Handy-Volume-Series." Boston: Roberts Brothers.

OUT OF THE FIRE. By Mary Dwinell Chellis. 42 pp. New York: National Temperance Society.

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Special Notices.

SPECIAL PREMIUM.—PHOTOGRAPH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WE have arranged to offer as a premium for subscribers for THE STANDARD a life-like, beautifully finished, medium sized photograph of WENDELL PHILLIPS, made for us by a distinguished Boston artist. We have had many calls for photographs of Mr. Phillips, suitable for framing, which we have hitherto been unable to supply. We have at last a likeness of him which we pronounce eminently satisfactory, and which we think will prove to be so to his many friends by whom it will be desired. Each photograph will have also Mr. Phillips' autograph. To all our subscribers who renew their own subscriptions and remit for one new subscriber ($6); or to any one who sends us the names of two new subscribers for one year ($6), we will forward,

Miscellaneous Department.

NOT YET.

BY J. W. CHADWICK.

In days long, long ago, when a divine unrest
Was surging like a sea in Europe's mighty breast,

And the fierce Hermit's voice proclaimed the dear Lord's will,
And drove the nations forth to strike and strive and kill,

If haply they might win from Saracenic horde
The tomb and precious dust of their most precious Lord—

As the Crusaders marched upon their weary way,
Never was seen, I trow, a motlier disarray;

Baron and serf, and dames all beautiful and bright,
And women who had strayed far out into the night;

And little children too, on mothers' aching breasts,
That heaved with many a sigh for their deserted nests;

And as they toiled along, and came from place to place,
Now to some little town, or hamlet void of grace,

The little children asked of those that carried them
In ever sadder tones, "Is this Jerusalem?"

And ever and again, with more and more regret,
Heard the disheartening words, "Not yet, my child, not yet."

"Not yet, my child, not yet;" I hear the Father say
To the Crusader true of this our land and day;

"For many a weary league thy feet have yet to tread
Ere through the City's gates thou art in triumph led.

"Thou dost not know how high its gleaming spires arise,
If with these village roofs thou canst content thine eyes.

"Thou dost not guess how wide is every shining street,
If here thou thinkst to find fit passage for thy feet.

"Thou hast not dreamed a dream of men supremely strong,
Of women sweeter far than poet's sweetest song,

"If with these rustic boors thou canst be pleased to dwell,
And with these damsels rude believe that all is well.

"Rest in no triumph won; the best is yet to be;
Not yet from half its woe is the great world set free.

"The victory of to-day, that seems so passing bright,
Is but a hamlet rude where thou shalt rest to-night.

"To-morrow up and on; but not with hope to see,
Ere night shall come again, the City rise on thee.

"Far off, far off, it lies, 'neath the horizon's rim;
Enough for thee to know, *I see Jerusalem!*

"I see its pearly gates, its temples rich and rare,
Its men divinely brave, its women good as fair.

"But it is not for man yet breathing mortal breath,
Nor yet for those who know the other side of death;

"To see its perfect plan, or catch with raptured ear
The accents of that love which casteth out all fear.

"Only in dreams they see its massive walls arise,
And hear its songs of praise, re-echoed by the skies.

"Such dreams I give to thee, and say to thee, Alas!
If thou should'st ever doubt that they will come to pass.

"For what if many fall with half the journey made,
Others shall come to swell the ranks of my Crusade.

"Let it suffice for thee that thou hast done thy best;
As sure as I am God, I answer for the rest."

—*The Woman's Advocate for January.*

SUNSHINE FOR THE CONSUMPTIVE.

BY DR. HENRY I. BOWDITCH.

We have been told by some consumptives that one of the best prescriptions we have made has been their removal from a north room to the sunny south chamber. As we write, two cases come to mind, strikingly illustrative of the sun's benign influence. We had been attending, at an orphan asylum, a girl about twelve years old, who had been long ill of severe typhoid fever. She was wholly prostrated in mind and body, and emaciated to the last degree. It was plain that she was falling into that depressed condition of all the powers of life that so often precedes consumption. Day after day we visited her, but all recuperative power seemed lost. Half dead and alive the little creature neither spoke nor moved, and ate only on compulsion. One day, on our way to visit her, we felt that elastic thrill which the warm rays of the sun impart in the early cool weather of spring. We involuntarily leaped along, and were instantly struck with the fact that "virtue had gone out of us," when we left behind us the sunlight and the warmth of the street, and entered that northern chamber, the dormitory of the poor orphan. That inspiriting influence the invalid had never experienced in the slightest degree during the whole of her sickness, as, owing to its peculiar situation, not a ray of direct sunlight had ever entered the chamber. We were shocked, and for the first time considered the depth of her loss, and our own remissness in regard to her. The air of the room had been pure, the ceilings of the infirmary were lofty, the attendants had been faithful and sagacious. Nothing seemed lacking, in fact, to restore health. Yet it did not come. On the contrary, there seemed a constant downward tendency. "A sun-bath in the warm rays of this delicious spring day is what this girl needs," we instantly said to the sister superior. This lady gladly consented to the change, and placed the little patient in another room having a southern aspect, and consequently filled with sunlight. The invalid immediately recognized the change, and asked, in her weak way, to have the curtains raised, so as to let in the full blaze of the light. Soon she wanted to sit up, and directed that the easy chair, in which she was propped, should be so placed as to allow her whole body below her face to be exposed to the direct rays of the sun. It was the natural tendency of disease, seeking for all life-renovating influences. And we have never met with so marked or so rapid improvement as immediately began in the body and mind of the girl. Appetite and strength increased daily, and with them burst forth again all the joyousness of the child's heart.

Another analogous case, which although we do not demonstrate by it the influence of the sun alone, we cannot forbear to name, because by such examples we impress perhaps on the minds of our readers the real principles underlying the whole question: A lady aged about thirty, resident in the northern part of New England, consulted us for undoubted tubercular disease of the lungs. Her house was well situated, and on the side towards the south was a small piazza resting on stone steps, which was raised two or three feet above the ground. The winter was approaching and rules were to be given. Having full faith in these divine influences of pure air and sunlight, we directed that should sit out on this piazza every day during the winter, unless it were too stormy. It was so arranged as to shut out the cool air on three sides, and to admit the full blaze of sunlight in front. Here, according to our directions, she used to sit wrapped in furs, reading or writing for several hours each day during the following winter, and with most excellent results. She was directed frequently to make deep inspirations, in order to fill the lungs with pure air. She was never chilled, because the sun's rays and her warm clothing prevented it. She never "took cold" there. On the contrary, the balmy influence exerted by her daily sun and air bath were so grateful; her breathing became so much easier after each of them, that, whenever a storm came, and prevented the resort to the piazza, the invalid suffered in consequence thereof. Whether these remarks will prove to our readers that want of sunlight may be reckoned among the causes of consumption may well be doubted, but we trust that at least, they will convince some sceptics that sunlight has a potent influence in raising the human body from various weaknesses that sometimes are the precursors of fatal phthisis.—*Atlantic Monthly for February.*

A TRUE MARRIAGE.

I believe there are few thoughtful men who have not come to regard as one of the least explicable among the great riddles of the earthly economy the rarity of well-assorted marriages. It might be so different, one cannot help thinking. The adaptations for harmony so wonderful! The elements of happiness so manifold and so rich! Yet how often—how miserably sometimes—it all miscarries! The waters of Paradise turned to fountains of bitterness—the gifts of Heaven perverted to curses upon earth!

I do not mean that there are few unions yielding reasonable comfort, friendly relations, a life free from open quarrel or secret heart-burning; but I speak of very marriage, without flaw or jar—a mating alike of the material, with its intangible affinities and its wondrous magnetisms, and of the immaterial principle within that survives the death-change. I speak of a heart-home pervaded by harmony not only unbroken—immutable as that of the spheres; felt to be so by those whom it blesses, calms, satisfies; a social state to which, when man and woman attain, there remains nothing in the way of earthly need or acquisition, save daily bread, to be coveted or prayed for.

Some think that, in this trial-phase of our existence, no such state of harmony and happiness is to be found. Among the few who do find it none of these skeptics will have place. No entrance into that temple except for those who believe! Without faith in the Good and the Beautiful—the Good that is felt, not seen—the Beautiful that must be conceived before it is realized—a man is shut out from the highest enjoyment. And such a man can do little to meliorate the world or elevate his race.—"*Beyond the Breakers,*" *in Feb. No. of Lippincott's Magazine.*

HANNAH BINDING SHOES.

Poor lone Hannah,
Sitting at the window, binding shoes.
Faded, wrinkled,
Sitting, stitching, in a mournful muse.
Bright-eyed beauty once was she,
When the bloom was on the tree;
Spring and winter,
Hannah's at the window, binding shoes.

Not a neighbor
Passing nod or answer will refuse
To her whisper,
"Is there from the fishers any news?"
O, her heart's adrift with one
On an endless voyage gone!
Night and morning,
Hannah's at the window, binding shoes.

Fair young Hannah,
Ben, the sunburnt fisher, gayly woos;
Hale and clever,
For a willing heart and hand he sues.
May-day skies are all aglow,
And the waves are laughing so!
For her wedding
Hannah leaves her window and her shoes.

May is passing;
'Mid the apple-boughs a pigeon coos;
Hannah shudders,
For the mild southwester mischief brews.
Round the rocks of Marblehead,
Outward bound, a schooner sped;
Silent, lonesome,
Hannah's at the window, binding shoes.

'Tis November;
Now no tear her wasted cheek bedews.
From New Foundland
Not a sail returning will she lose,
Whispering hoarsely: "Fishermen,
Have you, have you heard of Ben?"
Old with watching,
Hannah's at the window, binding shoes.

Twenty winters
Bleach and tear the ragged shore she views.
Twenty seasons!
Never one has brought her any news.
Still her dim eyes silently
Chase the white sails o'er the sea:
Hopeless, faithful,
Hannah's at the window, binding shoes.

—*Lucy Larcom.*

VOLCANIC CONDITION OF THE MOON.

We find the following very interesting statement in the London *Star's* Paris correspondence:

"There is some talk just now in the scientific world here about a strange observation made at Aden during the total eclipse of August 18th last. It appears that M de Crety, the observer, though prevented by the state of the weather from seeing the protuberances of the sun, discovered three on the moon, which no one ever dreamt of. They were of a triangular shape, and attached to the moon's limb by their bases; they are further described as being fainter than the body of our satellite and resembling mountains tipped with sunlight, or else masses of molten metal. They stood very nearly in contact with each other, occupying about the tenth part of the moon's circumference, their altitude being about the twentieth part of the lunar diameter. The protuberance in the middle diminished in height towards the end of the eclipse, the phenomenon having first become visible soon after the totality had ceased. This extraordinary observation was pooh-poohed at the time, and set down for an optical illusion; but after a lapse of three months and a half, Dr. Montucci has suggested to the Academy of Sciences that there might be something in it after all; and, if so, that it would turn out to be one of the most wonderful on record. Answering various objections which have been made, he reasons thus: It is true that M. de Crety is the only one who witnessed the phenomenon, but he was also the only one whose eyes were fresh, he having been precluded from fatiguing them by the clouds which screened the eclipse from view until after the totality. Moreover, the other observers, as soon as they had ascertained all they wanted about the protuberances, became careless, and did not watch the emersion with the same care that they had bestowed upon the immersion. Hence it may easily be conceived that they overlooked faint lunar protuberances they did not expect. This being conceded, the phenomenon itself may be explained by the occurrence of a volcanic eruption on the posterior hemisphere of the moon, which we never can see. The smoke or ashes ejected from lunar volcanoes would rise to an enormous height, owing to the extreme tenuity of the moon's atmosphere, which, therefore, could offer but very slight resistance; for the same and other reasons of a mechanical nature, the columns of eruptive matter would be lancet-shaped, and not have the form of a mushroom, as is the case in terrestrial eruptions. The observer may therefore just have seen the tops of three such columns issuing from craters concealed from view. At a distance of five degrees from the lunar border a crater eighteen thousand feet high would be out of sight, and just grazed by the visual ray. In this case the three craters are supposed to have been close together, and connected with each other. If this explanation be correct, we possess in M. de Crety's observation the first tidings of a world we shall never see."

ROBERT BROWNING.

BY M. D. CONWAY.

Mr. Browning stands, with few rivals in the past and none in the present, at the head of what, in fault of a better phrase, may be called intellectual poetry. There are poets who rank him in imaginative lustre, there are more musical minstrels, there are—though these are few—warmer and more delicate colorists; but for clear, vigorous thinking, perfect sculpture of forms embodying thoughts (sculptures too tinted with the flush of life, with veins of blue and red), for the utterance of the right physiognomical word and phrase, he has no superior since Shakespeare. Yet intellectual as it is even to a Greek severity—beyond even Landor here—it would by no means express the charm of his writings to style them philosophical. No theory can quote him, nor is he at all ethical. His religious fervor shows in points of white fire on every page, and yet no work aims at a moral lesson or object. He writes neither fable nor allegory. The world of men and women, with their actual passions, hopes, and loves, and the vast arenas for their play opened by these as rivers cut their channels—these are enough for him. His worship is for man; his faith must find its joy in a divine Man. The world of forms, the city of bodies, represents to him the scattered rays of this mysterious humanity; and his art is not to change them into any moral monotony, but to cultivate and guard them in their various vitality and meaning, and report their dramatic interplay. To philosophy and science all is unity; the poet is a creator of variety out of this unity which shows Faraday but one element, Tyndall one force, Hegel one idea, underlying all actual or conceivable combinations. How grandly he has created his forms may be best learned by considering the fertility of his invention as displayed in all of his volumes. No poet of this generation has approached Robert Browning in the richness and originality of his plots. While around him the gods and goddesses of Greece and Rome have been masquerading in contemporary costumes—while critics have been often limited for a generation at a time to the question whether Smith's Venus or Cupid is finer than Jones's—while every Oriental or Scandinavian or Italian legend has been made to do duty like the professional models whose faces and forms, now bright, now brown, reappear at every academy exhibition—this poet has evolved a series of the most beautiful frames as well as portraits, in attestation of which we need only, for the reader of Browning, mention *Pippa Passes, Paracelsus, The Flight of the Duchess,* and *The Blot on the Scutcheon.*—*Atlantic Monthly for February.*

OLD MAIDS.

There is a stigma of reproach cast upon the term "old maid"—too often justly so, I admit. But where does the fault lie? I know two women who may be classed in this category—unmarried, forty years old, or thereabouts. Both are of good family, the daughters of wealthy men. The one, some dozen years ago, finding, as no sensible woman can fail to find, that fashionable life had nothing in it to satisfy her, made a stand for herself. She told her family that she must have a life of her own. She had no especial gifts, except a remarkable aptitude for business inherited from her father. In a quiet way she had turned her attention to fruit-growing, a branch of industry offering many attractions to her, and into that business she determined to enter. Fortunately, she had sufficient money, left her by her grandfather, to be able to carry out her plans, despite the sneers of her fashionable acquaintance, and the objections and obstacles raised by the home circle. She established herself on a fruit-farm in the western part of this State. Her work prospered. Now she is the owner of several hundred acres, and has constant and remunerative occupation of a kind agreeable to her. After a few years her father died, and, instead of the rich man he was estimated, he was found to be bankrupt. This daughter had a comfortable home and support to offer her mother and invalid sister. She has quite a settlement of work-people, men and women, to whom she and her sister minister in various ways. In fact, she lives a life which is useful to others and developes her own powers, and in the consciousness of that she finds happiness and peace.—"*New Wine in Old Bottles,*" *in February No. of Lippincott's Magazine.*

THE BEE AND THE ROSE.

There is a constant joy that I have found
On upland pastures in the light of noon,
Far from a human face or human sound,
That I could tell of, if I were a bee
Like this one who goes booming toward the sea,
Making the most of summers gone so soon,
And passing on life's way melodiously.

There is an ecstacy that I have known,
Among the shadows of green arching things,
That I could breathe if I had only grown
In fragrant beauty like this brier-rose,
Which lowly lives, and wholly unpraised blows;
Cheering the bright world where the robin sings,
And only this one simple duty knows.

—*Atlantic Monthly for February.*

Sun-Baths cost nothing, and are the most refreshing, life-giving baths that one can take, whether sick or well. Every housekeeper knows the necessity of giving her woollens the benefit of the sun, from time to time, and especially after a long rainy season or a long absence of the sun. Many will think of the injury their clothes are liable to from dampness, who will never reflect that an occasional exposure of their own bodies to the sunlight is equally necessary to their own health. The sun-baths cost nothing, and that is a misfortune, for people are still deluded with the idea that those things only can be good or useful which cost money. Let it not be forgotten that three of God's most beneficent gifts to man—three things the most necessary to good health—sunlight, fresh air and water, are free to all; you can have them in abundance, without money and without price, if you will. If you would enjoy good health, then see to it that you are supplied with pure air to breathe all the time; that you bathe for an hour or so in the sunlight; and that you quench your thirst with no other fluid than water.—*Journal of Health.*

There is a certain softness of manner which, in either man or woman, adds a charm that almost entirely compensates for lack of beauty.

Mr. Carlyle and the University of Edinburgh.—Mr. Carlyle, ex-Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, having been asked to deliver a valedictory address to the students, has sent the following letter to Mr. Robertson, vice-president of the committee for his election:

Chelsea, Dec. 6th, 1868.

Dear Sir—I much regret that a valedictory speech from me, in present circumstances, is a thing I must not think of. Be pleased to advise the young gentlemen who were so friendly towards me that I have already sent them, in silence, but with emotions deep enough, perhaps too deep, my loving farewell, and that ingratitude or want of regard is by no means among the causes that keep me absent. With a fine, youthful enthusiasm, beautiful to look upon, they bestowed on me that bit of honor, loyally all they had; and it has now, for reasons one and another, become touchingly memorable to me—touchingly, and even grandly and tragically—never to be forgotten for the remainder of my life. Bid them, in my name if they still love me, fight the good fight, and acquit themselves like men in the warfare to which they are as if conscript and consecrated, and which lies ahead. Tell them to consult the eternal oracles (not yet inaudible, nor ever to become so, when worthily inquired of); and to disregard, nearly altogether, in comparison, the temporary noises, menacings, and deliriums. May they love wisdom, as wisdom, if she is to yield her treasures, must be loved, piously, valiently, humbly, beyond life itself, or the prizes of life, with all one's heart and all one's soul. In that case (I will say again), and not in any other case, it shall be well with them. Adieu, my young friends, a long adieu. Yours with great sincerity, T. Carlyle.

THE SNOW-STORM.

BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

Announced by all the trumpets of the sky,
Arrives the snow; and, driving o'er the fields,
Seems nowhere to alight; the whited air
Hides hills and woods, the river, and the heaven,
And veils the farmhouse at the garden's end.
The sled and traveler stopped, the courier's feet
Delayed, all friends shut out, the housemates sit
Around the radiant fire-place, inclosed
In a tumultuous privacy of storm.
Come see the northwind's masonry.
Out of an unseen quarry, evermore
Furnished with tile, the fierce artificer
Curves his white bastions with projected roof
Round every windward stake, or tree, or door;
Speeding, the myriad-handed, his wild work
So fanciful, so savage; nought cares he
For number or proportion. Mockingly,
On coop or kennel he hangs Parian wreaths;
A swan-like form invests the hidden thorn;
Fills up the farmer's lane from wall to wall,
Maugre the farmer's sighs; and at the gate
A tapering turret overtops the work.
And when his hours are numbered, and the world
Is all his own, retiring as he were not,
Leaves, when the sun appears, astonished Art
To mimic in slow structures, stone by stone,
Built in an age, the mad wind's night-work,
The frolic architecture of the snow.

Goethe tells the following story, which amusingly illustrates the capacity for drink of the Rhinelanders:—

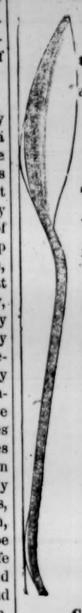
"The Bishop of Mayence once delivered a sermon against drunkenness, and after painting in the strongest colors the evils of over-indulgence, concluded as follows:—'But the abuse of wine does not exclude its use, for it is written that wine rejoices the heart of man. Probably there is no one in my congregation who cannot drink four bottles of wine without feeling any disturbance of his senses; but if any man at the seventh or eighth bottle so forgets himself as to abuse and strike his wife and children and treat his best friends as enemies, let him look into his conscience, and in future always stop at the sixth bottle. Yet, if after drinking eight, or even ten or twelve bottles, he can still take his Christian neighbor lovingly by the hand, and obey the orders of his spiritual and temporal superiors, let him thankfully drink his modest draught. He must be careful, however, as to taking any more, for it is seldom that Providence gives any one the special grace to drink sixteen bottles at a sitting, as it has enabled me, its unworthy servant, to do without either neglecting my duties or losing my temper.'"

Walking in the Old World.—The increasing passion for walking-matches has extended to the Old World, and brought a number of Recass—runners of the nomadic tribes of Central Africa—to Paris. They far surpass anything done by our race. When they carry government despatches, they run for days without sleep. In order to keep the chest free, they seize with both hands the ends of a stick, which they place horizontally behind their neck. Their stock of provisions consists of a few dozen dates, and their whole costume of a pair of trousers: perhaps they also carry a pair of sandals, which they put on when the sand of the desert becomes to hot to bear. On the way they lose as little time as possible. When they are out of breath, they stop, count up to sixty inspirations, and continue the journey; they sleep only two or three hours out of the twenty-four; and in order not to oversleep themselves, they tie a rope of date-bark to one foot and set it on fire. They know exactly how long it will burn, and when it reaches the foot the pain makes them jump up, and off they go once more on their errand.—*Our Monthly Gossip, Lippincott's Magazine.*

New Metal for Rails.—An improved metal for the manufacture of rails has been proposed, consisting, observes the *Mining Journal*, of iron, with an admixture of chrome ore. It has long been known that an alloy of about 40 per cent. of iron and 60 per cent. of chromium scratches glass almost as deeply as the diamond; and Fremy has stated that an alloy of iron and chromium may be formed by heating in the blast-furnace oxide of chromium and metallic iron. It resembles cast-iron, and scratches the hardest bodies, even hardened steel. Experiments are now being made at four of the largest rail mills in the United States, in order to test the value of an alloy of chrome ore and manganese, with the iron in the puddling-furnace, for hardening rail heads, and with every prospect of a successful result. Other experiments are being made to test the value of the process for the purpose of hardening plough castings, railroad car wheels, and other articles of iron fabrication, where there is great wear from friction and requiring to be made very hard. As there has long been much difficulty in obtaining a market for much of the chrome ore raised in Great Britain and her colonies, the proposition is regarded with great interest.—*Public Opinion.*

M. Victor Hugo has changed the title of his new story *Par Ordre du Roi* (by the king's command) into "*L'Homme qui rit.*" The difficulty of translating this title will probably induce the English translator to retain the original title, which it is stated, applies to three out of the four volumes of which the story consists. The story will be divided into two parts. The first, consisting of a single volume, will be published in Paris under the name of "The Sea and Night;" the second, consisting of three volumes, will be published in Paris about a fortnight after the first volume, and will bear the name originally intended for the entire work of "*Par Ordre du Roi.*"

SOMETHING NEW.



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Le Conseiller D'Etat, Commissaire General, F. Le Play. | Le Ministre, Vice-Pres't de la Com. Imperiale, Ce. Foreade.

Report of U. S. Commissioner, T. W. Evans, M. D., Member of the Jury of the Universal Exposition, to the United States. William H. Seward, Secretary, Department of State. To wit:

Dr. Hudson has received from the Imperial Commission a Bronze Medal and Diploma, for the limbs sent by him, which have been particularly admired, and are in execution unquestionably the most remarkable in the Exposition." (The only Limbs which had the award of the Medal.)

TESTIMONIAL OF THE
CONFERENCE
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL SANITARY COMMISSION
At the Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1867.

"In the name of the Conference of Associations for the Relief of Wounded Soldiers and Sailors,

"I have the honor to inform you that a Medal has been awarded to you, by the Assembly of Delegates at the Distinguished Seance of the 31st of August, 1867—for the services which you have rendered to the cause of Universal Humanity.

Paris, September 8th, 1868.
Count Sereier,
Commissioner General of the International Exposition, President of the Conference.

Count G. de Chabouly, T. Gauviy. } General Secretaries.
To Monsieur Hudson."

E. D. HUDSON, M D., 696 Broadway, N. Y.
Specialty of Mechanical Surgery, and Artificial Legs and Arms.
21—tf

THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

VOL. XXIX. PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

AARON M. POWELL, Editor.

The Standard advocates entire freedom and immediate enfranchisement for the colored race, as the demand of justice. Chattelism has been abolished, but equal freedom for the colored race has not yet been secured.

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WENDELL PHILLIPS

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